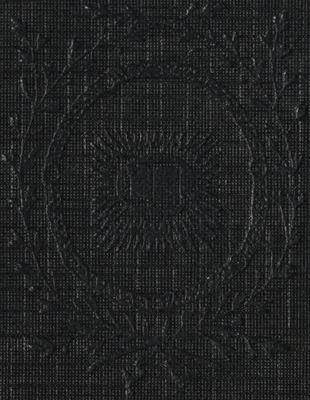

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PSYCHOLOGY FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WORKERS

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NEW YORK
THE CENTURY CO.

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To

OUR PARENTS

whose lives of devotion have exemplified the highest ideals of social and religious service, and whose unselfish care and sympathetic guidance in earlier years made this undertaking possible

PREFACE

This book is designed to meet a need which has long been neglected. There is an abundance of texts in general psychology and in applications of psychology to business and education, but very few which deal specifically with religious work or general social service. Such books or articles as exist are scattering, and deal with specific aspects of the general field.

It is hoped that the text will meet the needs of theological seminaries, schools of religion, and schools of social work, as a basic text in psychology; that it may be used in reading circles, special study courses, and institutes; and also be a valuable addition to private libraries.

It was deemed advisable to deal with a general survey of psychology in the first part of the book. Provision is thus made for those who wish to cover the field of general and applied psychology in one text. The special needs of the religious and social worker are kept in mind throughout, and illustrations and suggested applications in these fields are presented. There are many who will desire to review the study of psychology with a view to refreshing their memory of the subject and getting up-to-date knowledge in this field.

No extreme school of psychology is represented by the authors. Their point of view may be regarded as integrative, in the sense that the most worth-while, scientific, and sensible aspects of all schools are accepted. The biological emphasis is essential and inevitable if one would lay a proper foundation of knowledge and attitude. The practical value of the science of psychology as a means of social and individual control is constantly kept in mind.

No attempt has been made to produce a book for popular reading, with a superficial treatment of topics. On the contrary, the text is planned for intensive study. To this end, as an aid to both teacher and student, a number of questions and exercises are appended to each chapter. These consist, for the most part, of extensions of thoughts and applications of the material in the chapter, rather than questions which merely review the content. In addition, a list of selected references is given at the end of each chapter as an aid to the reader who desires to continue his study upon any topic. The authors do not hold to all the views represented in these readings, but believe that the one who would be well informed should be cognizant of the many opinions and points of view which obtain.

No particular religious philosophy or system of religious thought is here represented. It is believed that the text can have its greatest usefulness through an impartial presentation, each religious group or individual making such applications and interpretations within his own field as are deemed necessary or advisable.

The purpose of the authors will be achieved if those who read and study the text find their interest in social and religious work intensified and their work made more efficient. An intelligent mastery of psychology is essential for all who have the task of modifying the behavior of others, and the text should contribute to such a mastery. The values to be obtained through social and religious work in society are too critical to be left to chance, and the responsibilities of those who engage in these activities should be fully matched by wise ability. It is suggested that the book be not merely studied and then laid aside, but that it should be used as a working manual and center of reference, and constant effort be made to translate the fundamental principles into functional activity.

Acknowledgment is due to Ginn and Company for permission to use the diagrams of Mendel's law of segregation and the normal frequency curve from *Psychology for Teachers* by Benson, Lough, Skinner, and West.

PAUL V. WEST.
CHARLES E. SKINNER.

New York, N. Y.
December 15, 1929

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PART I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOLOGY

My mind to me a kingdom is; such present joys therein I find, that it excels all other bliss that earth affords.

CHAUCER

CHAPTER I

PSYCHOLOGY—ITS NATURE AND FUNCTION

> The proper study of mankind is Man.
>
> ALEXANDER POPE

DEFINITION.—Psychology is the systematic study of *behavior.* Unless otherwise designated, psychology refers to the study of normal human beings. The term "behavior" is here used in its widest sense. It includes everything from the simplest acts to the most complex thoughts, involved feelings, and intricate skills. In a very real sense psychology is akin to physiology which is concerned with the organic functions of the body, but differs in that it specializes on those functions which are related in some way to mental life. Psychology thus treats of emotions, cravings, abilities, ideas, learning, attitudes, ideals, choices, and many other types of behavior.

INTEREST IN PSYCHOLOGY.—Everyone is interested in the behavior of others. This interest gives a key to the appeal made by fiction and drama. Sympathy with one's fellows is achieved through an understanding of their behavior in the light of one's own experiences. Contact with others constantly requires that one's own behavior shall be related and adjusted to the behavior of others. The majority of individuals are curious regarding psychology because they wish to know how the mind operates, how to increase their own mental efficiency, and how to realize the maxium development of personality. The practical end determines this interest. As one becomes better acquainted with the field of study and makes some practical use of psychological principles, his interest in the subject for its own sake increases.

Value of Psychology.—A knowledge of the facts of psychology, when properly grasped and applied, assists in predicting and controlling the behavior of oneself and of others. A working knowledge of this science enables one to understand himself better. It gives one a conscious control of his own thoughts, feelings, and actions in relation to himself and others. It also helps one to produce desired social changes in the most economical way through proper stimulation, restriction, and direction of individual activities.

Illustration of Typical Behavior.—A typical case of human behavior of a complex sort is given in the following incident:

> John Rodger, registrar, found it difficult to keep his attention on the task of *writing* his report. More and more effort was required. The *thought* kept recurring to him that he should ask for an increase in salary. Many *reasons* for this move suggested themselves: he had received commendation for his efficient work; others less deserving than he had been promoted; the college finances were in good shape; the board of trustees appeared willing to pay higher salaries.
>
> On the other hand, he recollected the brusque manner of the president and *remembered* how he had been rebuffed on a previous occasion when he had made a similar request. He confessed to himself an emotion of *fear* whenever he came into this august person's presence. In his *imagination* he saw what might happen should he face the president with his petition, and this picture was enough. He *decided* he would postpone his action on the matter and resumed his writing with new energy.
>
> Just at this moment he heard the noon whistle and, glancing at the clock, he saw that the hands stood at twelve. He suddenly *became aware* of the odor of food from the neighboring cafeteria and realized that he was keenly *hungry*. He *arose* and, following his habit, automatically cleared his desk and *locked* it; then imitated his fellow-employees in sauntering casually into the lunch room.

In this episode one finds many kinds of behavior noted. Some of these are indicated by italics. Mr. Rodgers is busy in other ways than those which pertain to his duties. He is carrying on a line of thought which leads to evaluating reasons pro and con and the making of important decisions. Feeling plays a large part in these decisions. He is aware of his own line of thought and his feelings as well as certain things in his surroundings. In certain cases he acts with deliberation; in other instances his action takes place without his conscious direction.

METHODS OF SECURING PSYCHOLOGICAL DATA.—All facts regarding behavior are secured through observation. Certain elements of behavior are *objective,* in the sense that they can be observed by others. Actual physical movements fall in this class. If one were observing the behavior of Mr. Rodger one could easily observe that he wrote, glanced at the clock, arose, cleared and locked his desk, and walked into the lunch room. Certain aspects of his behavior could not be directly observed, although they might be inferred from a careful observation of related details. Thus one might note the slowing down of his rate of writing and the puzzled expression on his face, and conclude that he is thinking through some worrisome problem. From the way in which he resumes work one might infer that he had reached a decision. The glance at the clock just after the whistle had sounded would indicate that he had heard the whistle. Such inferences are not certain, nor do they convey any information as to the exact content of the mental life at the time.

Many elements of behavior are not observable by others. The thoughts, reasons, memories, fears, imaginations, decisions, and hunger, which Mr. Rodger experienced, are mental states of which only Mr. Rodger himself could be aware. They are *subjective* states and operations which can be recalled, reported, and analyzed only through *introspection* (looking within), or self-observation. Mr. Rodger could thus introspect and tell others in some detail what he thought, felt, and decided during this period.

While introspection is indispensable in the gathering of psychological data, it has serious limitations. Wrong conclusions are sometimes reached, and disagreements among psychologists often arise because of imperfections in this method.

1. Only those who are carefully trained in the technique of introspection may make use of it with dependable results.

2. Even with experts the process of introspection may interfere with normal mental behavior. If one had not been consciously observing his own mental states it is possible that the entire mental process would have been different.

3. The observer can never tell what *is* "passing through his mind," but only what *was* happening in the near or remote past. This permits the report to be colored by imagination.

4. The method fails to show the relation between past and present forms of behavior. One may infer that what he feels or thinks is traceable to certain past experiences, but this inference may be in error.

5. The method cannot be used accurately with small children or those who are mentally incompetent.

6. The items of the report are not objectively verifiable. What the reporter says about his own mental states must be taken "on faith" if at all, since it is altogether subjective.

When one's introspections are told to others the telling is objective. If the data collected evidence an agreement with other observed facts, and if they are substantially the same under similar conditions, they may prove highly significant. The psychologist necessarily interprets the objective behavior of others in terms of his own subjective experiences. Thus, when properly used, the introspective method of observation is a useful complement to the objective method in psychological investigations.

Many problems cannot be solved by casual observation of incidents and conditions as they normally occur. Behavior processes are so complex that the exact series necessary to throw light on some problem of behavior might never occur within the observer's experience. Therefore many of the facts of psychology have been derived through a special type of scientific observation called *experiment.* By this procedure factors are controlled, so that one is allowed to vary while others are held constant. The effects of the variable factor on the behavior of the person or persons who act as subjects can be noted. The exact conditions can be duplicated at another time and the experiment repeated. In this way it is possible to subject the findings to test, and decide on the acceptance or rejection of conclusions previously reached. In brief, the experimental method extends the range of subjective and objective observations, and increases the accuracy and reliability of the observations made.

The meaning of an experiment and the procedure used may be made clear by the following brief digest of a typical report of research in psychology as applied to moral education.[1]

Problem:

To what an extent will intensive moral training result in an improvement of moral ideals and habits?

Method of Solution:

Boys from ten to fourteen years used as subjects.

These boys organized into six groups with about one dozen in each.

All the boys were given a preliminary test in trustworthiness, being provided with opportunities to steal, cheat, lie, and break promises without being aware that these temptations were prearranged or the results recorded.

The average boy was successfully tempted by three or four of the ten tests given. All but one of the boys were found untrustworthy in some particular.

Two of the groups were left for a period of seven weeks with no special training in morals. This was the "control" or check group. Two of the groups were given ordinary Boy Scout training. The remaining two groups were given an intensive training in moral attitudes and conduct in a large variety of situations in addition to the Boy Scout training.

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[1] Paul Voelker, *The Function of Attitudes and Ideals in Education,* Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 112, 1921. Also see A. I. Gates, *Psychology for Students of Education* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923), pp. 320–22.

A final set of ten tests in trustworthiness was given to all boys at the end of the seven weeks of training. This test was similar to the preliminary test.

Results:

Although not all of the members of the specially trained groups were found to be absolutely trustworthy, their record was greatly improved. Their improvement was markedly greater than that of the middle groups, who in turn excelled those who received no systematic training.

In ordinary life conditions, many observations of behavior, either of self or of others, are of the random type. Others are made with a well-defined purpose. In this case it is the duty of the observer to record his findings in definite terms and measurements, with full descriptions of procedures. At every step there must be complete fidelity to the object in view and to the facts.

FUNCTION OF PSYCHOLOGY.—The task of psychology is more than just the gathering of data on the various aspects of behavior. Facts must be classified, analyzed, interpreted, and related to each other so that principles and laws may be discovered, as a guide to *prediction* of behavior and *control* of conduct.

All people are constantly making use of many of these principles in their contacts with each other without having any exact idea of the existence of the principles or how they operate. In this sense the newsboy on the street and the merchant in his store may be "psychologists" in their dealings with others. Psychology seeks to make the basic laws known to all and to suggest methods of application, so that they may be used deliberately and intelligently in many varied ways.

It is no part of the task of psychology to deal with the determination of ethical ideals as such. The definition of the rightness and wrongness of specific acts is left to other studies. Metaphysical problems, having to do with the ultimate nature and origin of phenomena, are also not a subject-matter of psychology, but of philosophy.

NATURE OF PSYCHOLOGY AS A SCIENCE.—In pursuance of its function, psychology must be a highly organized science, or body of proved fact. A science must deal with definite, exact, and objective data. These data must be collected and treated by experts in a precise way and the conclusions which are reached must be subjected to test and proof by others if they are to be accepted as true. As a rule, principles or general laws are arrived at gradually. The first step in their development is a guess at a solution, or the *hypothesis,* which appears probable in the light of experience. The next step is the *theory* in which the hypothesis is supported by further observation. When the theory is tested and proved to hold true without exception, it is recognized as a general *law* or *principle.* In psychology there are many facts of behavior, and many working hypotheses and theories, but comparatively few final laws which are recognized by all. Psychology is not as yet an exact science in all of its phases. It can never be so until it can be used to predict and control human behavior unfailingly. Because of the complexity of human behavior, the task of developing the science appears endless.

Much is demanded of the scientific investigator. Even though one were not to be a scientist himself, it would be well for him to have an appreciation of the characteristics and work of the scientist. In the first place the scientist has an eager *curiosity* to know the truth. He lives, not in a closed world, but in one that is filled with problems. He has an active, creative imagination and a *keen insight* into relationships between forces and facts. Furthermore, he must have an *open mind* throughout the entire investigation. Prejudice interferes with the recognition of problems, leads one to neglect the needed solution of problems, to distort the data collected, to draw the wrong conclusions, and to resist the submission of conclusions to a test. The scientist should be a careful, thorough, honest worker who holds his judgment in suspense until all facts are in.

In distinct contrast to the psychologists who are imbued with the scientific spirit, there are many *pseudo-psychologists* (pseudo = false) who are constantly taking advantage of man's credulity. Physiognomy, phrenology, graphology, palmistry, astrology, mental telepathy, spiritism, and mental healing are some of the fields in which pseudo-psychology operates. Many "fakers" claim to be able to read character at a glance, to offer vocational counsel that is absolutely reliable, to cure all sorts of bodily ills, to train the memory, and the like. Although some of them are doubtless honest, though misled by their own enthusiasms, the aim of many of them appears to be the accumulation of wealth and power. One should never mistake their statements or their publications for true psychology. The aim of the scientific psychologist is to further human knowledge, and thus provide opportunity for advances in human welfare. "Science is the living spirit of inquiry reverently at work in the service of the good life." [2]

FIELDS AND APPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY.—Psychology may be regarded as a *pure* or *general* science, having to do with the impersonal and impartial study of human behavior and the formulation of general laws, without reference to any application which may be made of the truths discovered. In contrast to general psychology, and as extensions of it, many forms of *applied* psychology have developed. These consider the bearing which the facts and laws of general psychology have on specialized fields of human activity.

The wide field of applied psychology is divided for convenience into many classifications which are in no sense mutually exclusive. The chief ones are:

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[2] J. K. Hart, *Democracy in Education* (The Century Co., New York, 1919), p. 409.

Educational psychology, which is concerned with the analysis of the nature of the learner and the methods by which learning processes are carried on most effectively.

Legal psychology, which considers such matters as the reliability of testimony, the method of organizing and conducting cases at law, and the factors which influence the criminal.

Business psychology, which emphasizes problems of business administration, employment, advertising, and salesmanship.

Medical psychology, in which the interest lies in diagnosing and treating pathological conditions such as feeble-mindedness, insanity, nervous prostration, and disorders due to or curable through mental suggestion.

Religious psychology, which deals with questions of the religious life of mankind as well as individuals, and the establishing of religious appeals, experiences and habits.

In certain of these fields, notably education and business, there has been a marked and successful development of practical applications. Little has thus far been done in the field of religious effort. Doubtless the expansion and use of psychological knowledge in this field will result in greater efficiency.

Other important divisions of psychology include *child psychology,* which deals with the mental characteristics of childhood at different levels of development; *abnormal psychology,* which treats of unusual mental states; *social psychology,* which considers man's associations and relations with his fellows; *physiological psychology,* which is a systematic study of mental functions in relations to bodily structures and processes, especially those of the nervous system, and *comparative psychology,* the science of animal behavior.

The present text is concerned primarily with the facts involved in ordinary normal human conduct, especially as they are related to religious behavior and social relations. Use will be made of the principles of general psychology and relevant material from the various fields of application.

Questions and Exercises

1. Would psychology be interested in any of the following problems? If so, which ones? (a) The process of digestion. (b) The effect of concentrated study on digestion. (c) Can one study as effectively after eating a heavy meal? (d) Changes in the pulse during a state of fear. (e) Effect of alcohol on heart action.
2. Some of the items of the behavior of Mr. Rodger are italicized. List all the others which are not thus indicated.
3. Does Mr. Rodger do any introspecting? Observing of things or of people?
4. In reading the incident did you find yourself interested in Mr. Rodger's conduct? Were you curious as to what he did next?
5. Point out cases from your own experience where psychology has been made use of in salesmanship, medical practice, teaching, religious work, or other fields.
6. State a problem in psychology which might be solved experimentally and indicate the method of solution.
7. Judged by the criteria here given, are there many scientific individuals among your associates?
8. Give an instance of the work of a pseudo-psychologist that has come to your attention. How would you explain their apparent success in reading character, giving vocational guidance, or other lines? Do they ever make use of truths or half-truths?

Selected Readings

The introductory chapter of any standard text in psychology will aid in an understanding and appreciation of the nature and function of psychology. Some of the texts which present a simple, clear statement are:

Angell, J. R., *Introduction to Psychology* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1918), Chap. I.

Colvin, S. S., Bagley, W. C., and McDonald, Marion, *Human Behavior* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929), Chap. I.

Dashiell, J. F., *Fundamentals of Objective Psychology* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1928).

Gast, Ira M., and Skinner, H. Clay, *Fundamentals of Educational Psychology* (Benj. H. Sanborn & Company, Boston, 1929).

McDougal, Wm., *Outline of Psychology* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1923), Chap. I.

Pintner, Rudolph, *Educational Psychology* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1929).

Skinner, C. E., Gast, I. M., and Skinner, H. C., *Readings in Educational Psychology* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1926), Chap. I.

Warren, H. C., *Elements of Human Psychology* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923), Chap. I.

Weld, H. P. *Psychology as Science* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1928).

Woodworth, R. S., *Psychology: A Study of Mental Life* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1929), Chap. I.

Chapter II

BASAL STRUCTURE OF THE NEURAL, MUSCULAR, AND GLANDULAR SYSTEMS

God made the human body, and it is the most exquisite and wonderful organization which has come to us from the divine hand.

Henry Ward Beecher

Value of a Knowledge of Biological Facts.—All behavior has a physical basis. The child is born into a world in which many varied forces, seen and unseen, act upon him. He would not be subject to these forces, however, nor could he respond to them, if he did not possess a physical mechanism especially adapted to them. In order that one may understand and appreciate man and his behavior fully it is necessary to analyze this structure in some detail and to study its development. *There is an amazing lack of knowledge of the body and its functions.* In some cases, unfortunately, this may be ascribed to an actual disrespect for the body, a conviction that it is sinful, carnal, and therefore unworthy. In other cases it may be charged to sheer neglect of that which is commonplace. A citizen will spend hours on end getting acquainted with the mechanism of his automobile, while at the same time he remains in almost complete ignorance of the vastly more delicate and significant mechanism of his physical body, especially as it relates to health and mental life. Philip Melancthon said:

> "It is shameful for a man to rest in ignorance of the structure of his own body, especially when the knowledge of it mainly conduces to his welfare, and directs his application of his own powers."

Structure of Cells of the Body.—Man is a very complex *multicellular organism* (macro-organism) with a body made up of many billions of living cells. Each of these cells plays its part in determining the characteristics of the total organism.

All living cells, whether plant or animal, have certain structural characteristics in common. Each is a microscopic bit of *protoplasm* containing a *nucleus.* The protoplasm has to do with producing and transforming energy, and the nucleus with growth and reproduction.

The unicellular organism, such as the amoeba, has the power of growth by which it comes to *maturity.* When mature, it reproduces itself by the simple act of division, each new cell being a duplicate of the parent cell, and floating free from it. In distinct contrast, the multicellular animal begins its development at the moment of the conception of life, when the female *ovum* is fertilized by the male *spermatozoa.* The fertilized cell now begins the process of division. The resulting cells do not separate, as is the case with unicellular organisms, but remain attached by some adhesive force. When these cells reach maturity each of them again divides, and the process of segmentation goes on by

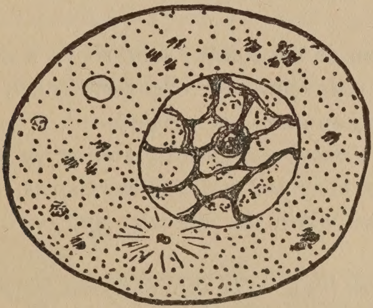

Fig. 1
The Parent Cell

the progression 2, 4, 8, 16, 32—. At this rate the increase in the number of cells is very rapid and soon mounts into thousands and millions.

Development of Special Functions.—The growing multicellular organism soon faces a situation not encountered by the unicellular animal. The individual cells of the embryonic life become buried in the mass, and no longer possess the power of independent activity. Food can no longer reach them, nor can they act as self-reliant units. They must serve the interests of each other and the whole organism.

There now begins a most remarkable process of *differentiation of functions.* One of the earliest steps is the setting apart of a group of *germ cells* which retain their characteristics and multiply throughout the reproductive life of the organism. These cells, except for accidental influences of the environment such as nourishment, are probably copies of the original fertilized ovum.

A cross section of the embyro soon shows a demarkation of three layers of cells: an outer one (ectoderm), a middle one (mesoderm), and an inner one (endoderm). From the first develop the skin tissues, membranes, and nerve substance, and from the last the bony and cartilaginous tissues. The mesoderm is the basis from which the muscular and organic tissues develop.

These cells now begin to be differentiated further into organs and systems of organs, adapted to the carrying on of highly specialized functions. In order that nourishment may be provided for all the living cells, some of them form a complex digestive system, involving an alimentary tract for the taking in of food, preparing it for assimilation, and excreting those portions which are not digested. To the end that this nourishment may reach remote cells in every part of the organism a circulatory system is provided, with blood and glandular secretions and special organs to further fit the food for assimilation, and to distribute and transmit the elements of nourishment to the cells. A respiratory system develops as an aid in both furnishing the cells with oxygen and providing an additional means of excretion.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM AND ITS STRUCTURE.—It is evident that some agency is needed to coördinate all of these and many other functions, and to relate the cells of the body to each other, also to bring about the functioning of the whole organism as a unit. Therefore, coincidentally with the development of other systems, the nervous system is formed. The nervous system is adapted to the transmission of nerve impulses. The nature of these impulses is not known, but it is probably some form of electro-chemical reaction. Delicate instruments record the presence of galvanic or electric energy when nerve action is going on. The velocity of the nerve impulse has been found to be approximately 100 to 130 feet a second.

The cell which is especially adapted to carrying on nerve (neural) functions is called the *neurone*. The typical neurone consists of a cell body with a nuclear center and with two specialized groups of fibers or processes extending from it. Of these the *dendrites* consists of a branching of short fibers which

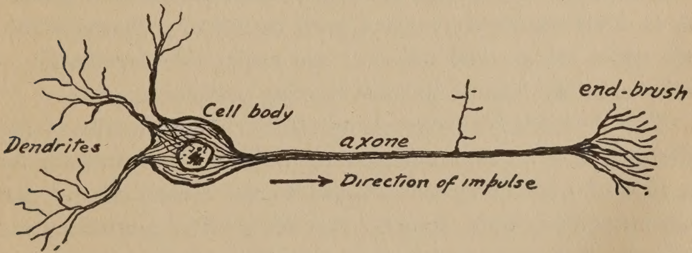

FIG. 2
The Neurone and Its Parts

convey nerve impulses *to* the cell body. The *axone* is a single strand of fibers, usually longer than the dendrite, and with a brush of fibers at the end, which carries impulses *away from* the cell body. There appears to be a small space between the *end brush* of the axone and the dendrites of the next cell through which nerve impulses must be transmitted in passing from one neurone to the next. This gap, or point of functional contact, is known as the *synapse*.

In order that the nerve impulse may operate, the neurone must have the possibility of being stimulated, or possess the characteristic of *sensitivity*. It must also possess the power of transmitting impulses which are initiated by the stimulus, or the characteristic of *conductivity*.

A succession of many neurones may be called into function in order to carry a nerve impulse to its natural termination. It is customary to classify neurones according to function into *sensory, connecting,* and *motor types*. While there is no essential difference in the character of the nerve fibers in these three classes, the first are adapted to the reception of stimuli and to transmitting them to a nerve center; the second are so organized as to direct the impulses over a great variety of pathways within the nerve center; and the third are responsible for the transmission of the impulse to some reacting mechanism.

THE AUTONOMIC DIVISION OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM.—The first and most important demand of the growing organism is for a type of nervous system adapted to the control of the vital organs and processes. In order that life shall be continuous and effective these processes must be automatic, or self-powered. The heart must beat, and a great number of specialized organs must function and coördinate properly or the organism will not be normal. The *autonomic* (self-ruled) *division* of the nervous system develops in response to this need. This system of nerves is "outward-bound" in the sense that nerve impulses pass only from some nerve center to the organs concerned.

Nerve centers in this division are of the lowest order. Neurones are grouped in small masses known as *ganglia.* The chief ganglia are distributed along the spinal column or backbone. In a number of places the ganglia are grouped together to form a plexus in which nerve fibers that bring in impulses congregate, and from which radiate those fibers conveying the redirected impulses to the proper organ or organs. Some of the more common of these centers are; the *cardiac plexus,* having chiefly to do with the heart and lungs; the *solar plexus,* located just above the stomach and controlling the functions of the diaphragm and chief digestive organs; and the *hypogastric plexus* which relates to certain of the organs of the lower abdomen. All of these centers are interrelated in a very complex way, so that the vital organs function sympathetically. For example: one expends unusual energy in running, and this results in the accumulation of poisonous (toxic) substances. In response the breathing becomes rapid, the rate of heart beat is increased, and the sweat glands increase their function; all of these operations looking to the removal of these toxins from the system.

CEREBRO-SPINAL DIVISION OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM.—Approximately coincident with the growth of the autonomic division in the human fœtus, the *cerebro-spinal division* of the nervous system develops. This division is not altogether independent of the autonomic division, being connected with it by fibers, but is largely varied from it in function. It is chiefly characterized by the great specialization of parts and by the complexity of its nerve centers. Sense organs develop in or near the surface of the body and in the membranes. *Afferent* nerve fibers lead from these to the central masses of neurones, and *efferent* fibers extend from the centers to organs of response. The chief nerve

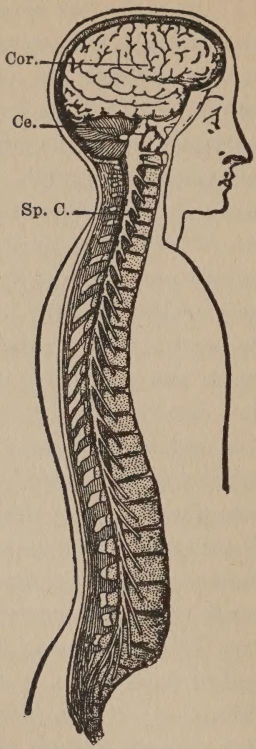

FIG. 3
The Brain and Spinal Cord

(From James R. Angell, *Psychology*, by permission of Henry Holt & Company, publishers.)

centers are the *spinal cord* and *brain masses*. The former is a bundle of nerve fibers and connections which form a path of conduction to the brain. It is well protected by the spinal column in which it is encased and which is made pliable by virtue of interlocking vertebrae.

The most important parts of the brain, those which are chiefly concerned with thought processes, are the *cerebra*. These occupy the greater part of the skull cavity and are divided by the central fissures into right and left cerebral hemispheres, each of which is called a cerebrum. The surfaces of the cerebra show many folds or convolutions separated in some instances by prominent fissures. These convolutions increase greatly the surface area of the brain.

The cerebral *cortex,* a layer of neurones about one tenth to two tenths of an inch in thickness, covers the entire surface of the cerebra. This layer is gray in color, since it is largely composed of cell bodies; in this respect being similar to the inner part of the spinal cord. The inner part of the cerebra is made up of a whitish mass of tissues and nerve fibers similar to the outer part of the spinal cord. The color is attributable to the medullary sheath which covers the nerve fibers.

It is the brain of man that chiefly distinguishes him as a behaving organism from the lower animals. It is larger in man, relative to the rest of his body, than is the case with other animals. The so-called "thought areas" are especially well developed. Man's superior intelligence is thought to depend primarily upon fineness of texture and complexity of organization of the brain rather than upon its size.

Other brain masses are: the *cerebellum,* lying at the back of the skull and below the cerebra; the *pons,* a bridgework of fibers located in front of the cerebellum; and the *medulla oblongata* which is a bulging of the upper end of the spinal cord. While all parts of the brain masses are interconnected, the ones noted in this paragraph have to do with automatic processes, rather than with those which are effected through conscious control and deliberation.

THE MUSCLES.—Muscular tissues play a large part in human life and conduct. They possess the unique power of *contractility.* There are many theories as to the nature of muscular contraction, but none has yet been found conclusive. Muscular tissue is very elastic and is normally in a state of tension. Each muscle is an organ composed of thousands of muscular fibers bound together, and surrounded by connective tissues. Each fiber is an elongated cell with one or more nuclei.

In addition to the *striated cardiac* or heart muscle which is of little significance for mental life, there are two distinct types of muscles, each with specialized structure and functions. The *striated skeletal* muscles are for the most part external, and are the ones commonly known in voluntary bodily movements. They are associated with the cerebro-spinal division of the nervous system. The *smooth* or plain muscles are related to the autonomic division of the nervous system and are involuntary or automatic. They have to do with the operation of the vital organs, hence are absolutely essential to life. Visceral organs such as the stomach and intestines are largely made up of smooth muscles. The cells of these muscles are more minute than is the case with skeletal muscles, and contain a single nucleus.

THE GLANDS.—A *gland* is an organ which is adapted to the performance of the following functions: the absorption of highly concentrated substances, directly or indirectly, from the blood stream; the storing up of these substances; the reorganization of the chemical components contained in these substances; and the redistribution of the resultant fluids either by *secretion* into the system, or *excretion* from it. Some of the glands are exceedingly minute, but size is no index of importance. Most of the glands secrete more than one chemical. So complex is the combination of such chemicals, especially when several glands function together, it is indeed difficult to analyze them or to tell what effect the fluids will produce. All glands are connected with terminations of axones of the autonomic division of the nervous system.

There are two types of glands: (1) *duct* glands, and (2) *ductless* or *endocrine* glands. The former secrete or excrete their contents through ducts. Most of these have to do with the digestive or excretory processes. Some of them are: the kidneys, sweat glands, and salivary glands. The endocrine glands pour internal secretions directly into the blood or lymph as it circulates through them. The secretions of these glands, known as *autocoid substances,*[1] are interrelated in a very complicated way in their action on body *metabolism,* which has to do with the building of dead food into living matter, and the breaking down of living matter in the cells into simpler products. They thus relate especially to growth, health, energy, and the emotional life. Removal of any of the endocrines brings about serious disturbances of behavior, and, in some cases, a speedy death. Imperfect functioning of these glands results in many types of abnormal behavior.

Some of the chief ductless glands are: (1) *Thyroid* gland, consisting of two lobes located on either side of the throat and below the larynx, and secreting a fluid called *thyroxin* which essentially contains the element iodine, (2) *Parathyroids* which are four small bodies placed alongside and imbedded in the thyroids, (3) *Pituitary* gland, a very small gland located at the base of the skull, (4) *Adrenal* or suprarenal glands placed just above the kidneys and secreting a fluid which has epinephrin or *adrenalin* as one of its most active elements.

Some glands have a dual function of both *external* and *internal secretions.* Among these are the liver and pancreas which are not significant for mental life, and the sex glands. The latter produce the germ cells as an external, excretory function. They also have an internal function through pouring secretions of the interstitial cells directly into the blood. These secretions are concerned with body development and reactions preparatory to reproduction.

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[1] Autocoids that stimulate body processes are called *hormones,* while those that inhibit activities are known as *chalones.*

It cannot be assumed that all of the anatomical structures which are significant for behavior are yet known or adequately analyzed. There is much of mystery remaining in this field. Only a bare outline of the more important structures is here given. The student of psychology, especially as it relates to "human nature" as manifested in the social world, should realize that such physical structures are of the utmost significance in determining and limiting human behavior. Furthermore he should hold some adequate concept of their intricacy and their importance in contributing to the unitary character of the human organism.

Questions and Exercises

1. Some advocate the systematic presentation of biological science to children from earlier school years on. Discuss the value of this. Should biology be presented to them as a body of facts, of scientific techniques, or of appreciations?
2. What are some of the unsolved problems regarding the nature of cells and bodily development?
3. Do you think it possible that an individual might be born with basic structural defects? Illustrate and tell what would be the result.
4. Could one be a good practical psychologist without knowing biological facts such as are here presented? What would such a knowledge contribute to his human contacts?
5. Cite instances of ignorance of the human body and trace some of the results of such ignorance in matters of health and happiness.
6. Can you define the following terms?

plexus
autonomic
cerebrum
synapse
neurone
endocrine
nerve impulse
sensory nerve
protoplasm
axone
adrenal
autocoid
cortex
smooth muscle
dendrite

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CHAPTER III

THE SENSES AND SENSE ORGANS

> The soul is a book of which the senses are the scribes.
>
> PLATO

IMPORTANCE OF THE SENSE ORGANS.—All knowledge of the external world comes to man through his senses. One's mental horizon is definitely limited by the capacity of his senses for the reception of impressions. The lack of any one sense deprives the individual of experiences more or less vital to complete mental life. The man who was born blind has a very inadequate notion of the world as it appears to other normal individuals. The scientific psychologist is now in general agreement with the philosopher John Locke in his assertion, "Nothing is in the mind except that which was first in the sense."

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SENSE ORGANS.—The *organs of sense* are highly specialized organizations of body tissues. Some involve a very complex construction of bony, muscular, skin, blood, and nerve substance. One commonly hears or reads of "the five senses." This is no longer regarded as correct, as at least eleven senses or sense-groups are now recognized. Each of these depends upon the functioning of specifically adapted sense organs. Most, if not all, of these organs are made up of two parts: (1) the *end organ* proper, the actual beginning of the sensory nerve, functioning either as a dendrite, or as a cell body, in the reception of stimuli, and (2) *accessory apparatus,* which receives the original stimulus and conveys it in some form, by direct or indirect pathway, to the end organ. Some end organs appear to be stimulated by mechanical means as with the ear, while others are made to function through a chemical reaction, as with taste.

The sense organs are well protected from injury, as in the case of the eye, which is set in a bony socket, with a protective eyebrow, and an eyelid that closes automatically with the approach of any danger. Some of the senses give information relative to the world outside the body. Of these certain ones are adapted to stimuli coming from a distance, as with the eye and ear, while others do not function unless the source of the original stimulus be immediately applied to the body, as is the case with touch and taste. Still other senses are related only to receiving knowledge of the body itself, as with pain.

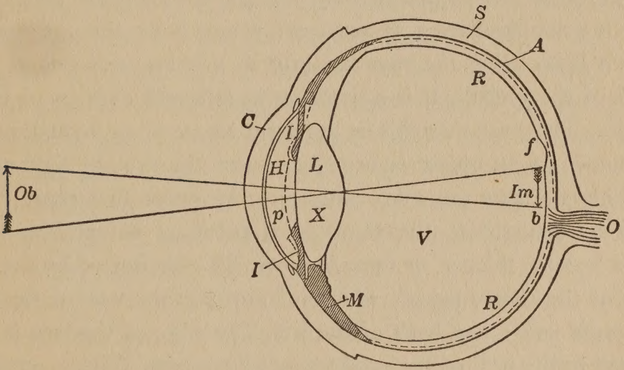

FIG. 4
A Cross-Section View of the Eye
(From Judd, after Wundt, by permission of Ginn and Company.)

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE EYES.—The complex structure and function of the sense organs is well illustrated by the *eye* which is the organ of vision. The original stimuli are *light waves* radiating or reflecting from visible objects. These strike upon the *cornea,* or front wall of the eye, and are there slightly refracted as they enter the eyeball. They next pass through a small cavity filled with aqueous humor. At the back of this cavity is the *iris* or colored portion of the eye, which is made up of concentric bands of pigmented muscular tissue. This acts as a curtain which automatically limits the amount of light entering the eye. The *pupil* is not part of the iris, but an opening through the center of it. When the light is bright the muscle contracts and the pupil becomes smaller, and vice versa.

The rays next come to the crystalline *lens* and are refracted as they enter, and again as they pass out on the other side. The lens is a double-convex, transparent, elastic body, the purpose of which is to bring the rays of light to a point of focus at the back of the eyeball. It is adjustable to different degrees of convexity. The need for this is apparent as an accommodation to distance. As an object is brought nearer the eye the light rays striking the lens are more divergent. In order that these rays may be brought to the same focal point as before, the lens must become thicker, or more convex. This is effected by the action of the *ciliary muscle* which is located in the wall of the eye (*choroid coat*) just back of the iris. The edge of the lens is attached to the wall of the eye by small ligaments. When a greater refraction of light rays is called for the ciliary muscle tightens and pulls forward on the choroid with the result that the ligaments are loosened to the proper degree and the lens is permitted to bulge.

After the light rays leave the lens they pass through the vitreous humor which fills the space, and come to a focus upon the inner layer of tissue, called the *retina,* at the back of the eyeball. They pass through the first layers of the retina and reach the *rods and cones* which are the true end organs of vision. These differ in their connections and structure as well as function, the rods apparently having to do with distinctions of light and shade and the cones with distinctions of color. The immediate stimulus which starts the nerve impulse that eventually reaches the brain is probably chemical. There are various theories regarding the action of these end organs, especially as regards their sensitivity to color, but these have not yet been verified.

The point on the retina where the central rays focus is called the *fovea.* It is probable that the end organs at this point are the most sensitive. The eye tends to bear directly upon the object in attention so that the rays will focus upon the fovea. The neurones which connect with the rods and cones converge so as to form the beginning of the *optic nerves,* and pass out of the eyeball at the *blind spot* where there are no end organs. The retina covers slightly more than half of the inner surface of the eyeball.

In addition to the complicated mechanism of the inner eye, equipment is provided for bringing the two eyes to focus upon the same point. The external rectus and oblique muscles rotate or move the eyeballs in their sockets, so that they are made to converge upon a near object and to take approximately parallel axes when regarding a distant object.

THE EAR.—The *ear* is hardly less complex than the eye. In this case the external stimuli are the air waves. The outer ear collects these waves and directs them through the passage to the *ear drum* which is set in vibration. In the small cavity back of the membrane, or middle ear, three small *bones* are suspended by ligaments and so delicately balanced and joined that they transmit the vibrations. The *Eustachian tube* opens into this cavity, leading from the throat. Its primary function is the balancing of air pressure upon the ear drum from the inside and outside. Otherwise the drum could not vibrate freely. The vibration of the third of the bones causes another membrane to vibrate and this in turn sets up vibrations in the fluid (*perilymph*) which fills the snail-like convolutions of the *inner ear,* or *cochlea.* This fluid, either directly or indirectly, stimulates the hair cells extending from the *Organs of Corti* which are probably the end organs of hearing. These organs are very minute, but vary in length as do the fibers of the membrane on which they rest. There are many thousands of these organs and fibers. The exact method by which tones of various pitch and timbre are transmitted as distinctive impulses to the auditory nerve is not yet certainly known, though several theories have been proposed.

ORGANS OF TASTE AND SMELL.—The organs of *taste* are located on the tongue and upper passages of the throat. Minute taste buds contain the *gustatory cells* which are activated by substances in solution. Four primary or fundamental taste sensations are recognized: sweet, salt, sour and bitter. For each of these there is a specific type of end organ and location in the mouth.

The sense of *smell* comes through the end organs in the upper part of the nasal passages. Substances which can be smelled must emit particles of matter which are taken into the nasal passages by the natural process of breathing or by emanations from substances taken into the mouth. These particles stimulate the minute fibres which transmit the impulse to the olfactory nerve. The close relation between taste and smell is apparent to anyone. Many of the so-called taste sensations are in reality sensations of smell. When the end organs for smell are not functioning, as when one is affected by a bad cold, food is found to be comparatively tasteless and unpalatable. It has been found difficult to classify all the sensations of smell on a psychological basis.

CUTANEOUS SENSE ORGANS.—*Touch* or *pressure* is one of a group of *cutaneous* or skin senses. It gives information regarding the solidity and roughness of bodies which come into contact with the skin, as well as testifying to the existence of such objects. The end organs for touch are found in corpuscles within the skin or in nerve fibers which terminate in rings about the base of hairs. They are comparatively numerous. There are also organs, more deeply buried in the body tissues, which give a sensation of deep-seated pressure. There are certain areas which are *protopathic,* i. e. lack the sense of touch.

Sensations of *warmth* and of *cold* are distinct from each other and from touch as well. The end organs concerned are also distinct. Although the distinctive form of each is not certain, each type has a specific location. "Warm spots" on the skin can be definitely singled out from the "cold spots."

SYSTEMIC OR BODILY SENSES.—The *pain* sense is very widely distributed throughout the body, not only in the skin proper, but in the membranes and various visceral organs. In the skin there appears to be no complex end organ for the reception of pain stimuli, but only *free nerve endings.* There are some areas which are anaesthetic, or insensitive to pain, because these nerve ends are lacking. Normally almost any stimulus which is ordinarily used to affect the sensory nerve will stimulate the pain end organs if made intense enough. The function of the pain sense appears to be protective, warning of any tendency to undue strain, extreme pressure, or of an actual breakdown of body tissue.

Nerve fibers leading from many muscles, tendons, ligaments, and joints make possible the *kinæsthetic* or *muscle sense.* This gives information regarding the position, movement, tendency to movement, or restraint of movement of many muscles or muscle groups. This sense, though not always clearly defined or recognized by individuals, as is the case with hearing or sight, is very essential to the regulation of behavior.

What is known as the sense of *balance* is due, in part at least, to the functioning of the *semi-circular* canals which are located close to and in connection with the cochlea, or inner ear. The canals are placed in the three planes at right angles to each other and contain small particles in a liquid. These apparently stimulate hair cells which extend from the wall at the base of the canals.

For the most part the sense operates automatically in regulating balance, although the sensation of dizziness is probably associated with it.

In addition to these fairly clearly defined senses there is a group of *organic senses,* which while very important are rather vague. Hunger is commonly located in the stomach, at least that form of hunger that appears at the end of a certain period after meals are eaten. This is probably due to contractions of the walls of the stomach, and is modified greatly by habit, so that hunger is felt at certain intervals. It is probable that there is a general somatic or body hunger, due to the impoverishment of body cells, which is not so clearly defined. Thirst is not easily localized. There are many other sensations of this type which are felt as changes in the body, as yearnings, or forms of uneasiness which have much to do with one's adaptations.

Many speak of a mysterious "sixth sense," or more properly twelfth sense, which enables one to gain remarkable insights and mysterious powers, but scientific investigation has failed to reveal any such factor. One may theorize as much as he desires as to the existence of such a mystic sense, but he cannot fairly state it as fact.

All phenomena of human sensation are apparently explainable in the light of these recognized senses either operating alone or in combination. In fact it is seldom that any one sense is isolated. The sensations which are received from the specific sense organs are the elements out of which many complex sensations are formed. Tickling sensations appear to be a combination of touch and slight pain. Many flavors are produced as a blend of smells, tastes, touch, and even pain. What is called the sense of distance in space is really a very complex mental state involving vision, muscle sense, and hearing, as well as other senses.

Sense Defects.—Any of the sense organs may be defective in function. In view of the fact that about 25 per cent of all children are found to have serious deficiency in sight, and about 5 per cent hearing defects, and that even larger proportions of adults suffer from these defects, more should be generally known of the hygiene of the sense organs, the eye and ear especially. The importance of these senses to human happiness and efficiency makes any abuse of them inexcusable. The presence of any serious degree of such visual defects as astigmatism, cross-eyedness, near-sightedness, far-sightedness, or color-blindness may never be discovered by the ones who suffer from them. Every child should be systematically examined for the presence of sense defects and remedial treatment given where advisable.

A deficiency or loss of sense in any sense organ may be due to imperfect structure or function of the accessory apparatus, the end organ, the sensory nerve, or nerve center.

THE NATURE OF SENSATION.—The function of the sense organs is most remarkable when considered as a means of relating one to the material world. The process is *analytical.* Each sense selects a particular group of stimuli from the total. Each type of sense organ gives its specific kind of information regarding surrounding objects and forces. The senses literally take the various aspects of objects apart and start the nerve impulses which result toward the brain. One sees coffee being poured into the cup, and hears the noise of its pouring, feels its warmth, smells its fragrance, and tastes its bitter-sweet flavor. He may also gain some appreciation of its weight in the cup.

No claim is made that the sensations exactly correspond to the actual object which is the source of the original stimuli. They are merely the result of the stimuli. There is no actual noise in the external world, but only air vibrations capable of rousing in the hearer the sensation of noise. Vibrations of short length or high frequency are sensed as high pitch, and vice versa. Vibrations of large amplitude impress one as louder than those of small amplitude. In the same way there is no actual light or color in the world, but only ethereal vibrations of various intensities and frequencies. An object cannot be said to possess any odor, but only to give off emanations which impress the organism possessing the proper receiving mechanism with a sensation of odor. Taste, solidity, heat, cold, pain, and all other sensations are all relative to the one experiencing the sensation.

The work of the sense organs is limited. There are vibrations of such low or high frequency or amplitude that they make no impression of sound, because the end organs of hearing are not adapted to them. In the same way objects may be so minute, or dull, or so distant as to be invisible even with the aid of magnifying glasses. Light rays exist at both extremes of the spectrum which are invisible, as the infra-red and ultra-violet rays. Most of the senses, if not all, have both an upper and a lower *limen* or *threshold*. It is probable that many kinds of forces are operative in the world which must remain unknown because man has no mechanism especially adapted to receive impressions from them.

Although a person may improve in his ability to recognize sensations through practice, this is a matter of attention. Training in itself does not improve the actual receptive power of the end organs.

Within the field of its function and the range of its powers, the sense organ provides merely the raw material out of which all knowledge is constructed. The receiving mechanism, although essential in structure and function, is only the first stage in a series of neural organizations and processes, all of which are essential to sensation. Sensation itself is apparently a neural reaction in the cortex of the brain, and as such is dealt with in the next chapter.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Show how all of the senses may be used when one is dining.
2. What information do the senses give one regarding the reality of the external world?
3. How do you explain the fact that the Indian has better sight and hearing in the out-of-doors than the white man?
4. What part do each of the senses play in the welfare of the individual?
5. The blind person sometimes says, "I see," when a scene is being described to him. What may this term mean when he has been blind since late childhood? When he was born blind?
6. Some animals of comparatively simple organization have no eyes. What do they use in their place? Some fish living in dark caves have lost the use of their eyes. What does this fact indicate as to why the sense organs came into existence and are kept functioning?
7. Does a knowledge of the intricate structure and complex function of a sense organ such as the eye give an added appreciation and respect for the human body?
8. Is it possible that some individuals are subject to slight sensations such as radio waves might give, in ways that science is not yet able to analyze?

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CHAPTER IV

REACTION AND TYPES OF BEHAVIOR

> Happiness is in action, and every power is intended for action; human happiness, therefore, can only be complete as all the powers have their full and legitimate play.
>
> DAVID THOMAS

UNIVERSALITY OF BEHAVIOR.—Man is always behaving in some way, throughout his lifetime. His entire physical mechanism is adapted to this end so that there may be ready and constant adjustment to the world about him. All living organisms behave.

The *unicellular animal* evidences the following types of behavior. It is sensitive to changes in its environment and adapts itself as far as possible to these changes, either by avoiding or adjusting. The simple organism also has the power of locomotion. It takes particles of food into its body, assimilates the food by simple processes, and discharges the waste matter. In addition it grows or matures and multiplies by division. These reactions are called tropisms, and are recognized as automatic responses to stimuli. They look to the preservation of the individual and the perpetuation of the species. The cell behaves as a self-contained unit, and acts as a whole.

In the higher organisms the responses or reactions are much more intricate and varied. The greater the complexity of the structure of an organism, the more diverse and complicated are the responses. The reactions serve the same basic purposes, however, and the organism always acts as a unit.

STIMULUS-RESPONSE HYPOTHESIS.—Every type of behavior may be considered as the result of some definite stimulus, operating either external to the body or within it, whether the stimulus is apparent or not. Each stimulus or combination of stimuli, sets up nerve impulses which lead to some kind of reaction. In case a force of the proper nature and amount impresses a sense organ so as to produce a reaction, it is said to be appropriate or adequate. There can be no reaction unless there is a reception of a stimulus and a neural connection between the sense organ and some organ or organs of response. The complete circuit, made up of the sensory organ, the connecting fibers, and the response mechanism is known as the neural arc.

KINDS OF REACTION.—Three physiological mechanisms are involved in producing reactions. These are the muscular and glandular organs and the nervous system. They do not act separately, but as a coördinated unit. On this basis of classification three variant types of behavior are recognized; *muscular, glandular,* and *neural.*

I. MUSCULAR REACTIONS

The response of a muscle to a stimulus is a movement of some kind, or a tendency to movement. The movement may be perceptible, as is the case when one jumps if pricked by a pin. On the other hand, it may be invisible because the muscles involved may be buried deeply in the body tissues, or because the motor activity is slight. The restraining of the activity of one muscle by the activitiy of another (*inhibition*) is a true motor response, even though no actual movement take place. In the contraction of a muscle, energy is liberated in the form of heat, a slight electrical discharge, and work.

The skeletal muscles have major significance in relation to behavior. They are used, not only for ordinary locomotion, eating, talking, and other essential adjustments, but for a very refined system of facial expressions and gestures which have meaning as language. Their movements are irregular and comparatively rapid. A muscle has the power of independent contraction, but is normally set in action by a stimulus received over the motor nerve from the central nervous system. The amount of the contraction varies with the strength of the stimulus.

Comparatively little is known regarding the effect of smooth muscles on mental life, but they must have some direct or indirect effect on the organic senses. They are susceptible to the stimulating or inhibiting influences of certain internal secretions of the endocrine glands. They are slower to act than the striated muscles, slower to return to normal after excitation, and may have a recurrent rhythm of movement.

Muscle-tone or tonus is a continuous state of slight reaction. Smooth muscles are capable of sustaining marked degrees of tonus for long periods of time. Tonicity in the skeletal muscles insures smoother, more certain, and more ready responses. Muscle-tone varies with the general health and temporary disturbances, but is always present to some degree, over longer or shorter periods, in one or more groups of muscles.

> "Everyone throughout his waking life is intensely active. The muscles of the body are always tense. The tension of the muscles is due to the fact that the stream of sensory energy which goes in . . . pours out into all the muscles of the body and maintains a general bodily tension . . . much work is done all the time in holding up the body or the head during waking hours. If the muscles of the neck relax for a moment the head falls forward. The muscles of the body are likewise active all the time; and the particular movements of which we think when the term 'activity' is ordinarily used are mere special cases of a general bodily tension." [1]

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[1] C. H. Judd, *Psychology of High-School Subjects* (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1915), pp. 138–139.

The student who becomes "keyed up" as a result of intensive study finds himself unable to relax when he retires, and consequently suffers from insomnia. A convalescing patient suffers from decreased muscle-tone, and finds it impossible to overcome his inertia. One anticipates making an enjoyable journey and is immediately in a state of *readiness,* or motor expectancy. Fear of an event that is coming in the same way is marked by a condition of *tension.*

2. GLANDULAR REACTIONS

The response of a gland to a stimulus results in the pouring out of secretions, or the interference of the flow of these substances. When one is hungry the sight of food starts the flow of saliva in the mouth. Fear will cause the mouth to become dry. The glands are called the chemical regulators of behavior. The activity of the glands is normally such as to give no marked evidence in behavior. However, in the case of defective action, or of over-action due to special stimulation, the individual shows marked changes in behavior. The secretions of the duct glands affect the mental life only indirectly, but those of the ductless glands have a very great influence on mental development and emotional life, as well as on general growth and energy. Some writers attempt to explain all phases of temperament, personality, and even character as resultants of these secretions. Although this may be true to a large extent, there are many other factors involved.

The secretion of the thyroid gland appears to have much to do with stimulating other tissues so as to cause an increase in metabolism, or chemical redistribution of the nutritive elements. The parathyroids have a vital function to perform in removing toxic substances accumulated in the body. If these are removed, the individual dies of poisoning in a very short time. The pituitary body also has to do with metabolism and the regulation of the development of certain parts of the body, notably those pertaining to sex functions. The special task of the pineal gland appears to be the regulation of skeletal growth. The adrenal glands affect the heart beat, blood-pressure, coagulation of the blood, action of the smooth and skeletal muscles, and many visceral organs in a regulative way, in some cases stimulating and in others inhibiting activity. The sex glands directly influence the development of secondary sex characteristics such as growth of hair, smoothness of skin, and quality of voice. The functions of the various glands are so intricately inter-related as to make any adequate analysis very difficult, if not impossible. One gland may possess many functions. The secretion of a gland may have one effect on a certain organ and a quite opposite effect on another. There can be no doubt that the endocrine glands play a very important rôle in behavior.

3. NEURAL REACTIONS

These reactions are attributed to certain neurones of the cerebral cortex. Neurones are conceived of, not only as paths for conducting stimuli, but also in special cases as real organs of response. *Consciousness* is thought to be made possible through these reactions. The nature of consciousness is unknown. It refers to bodily processes which are characterized by awareness. The awareness itself is the most mysterious of phenomena; convincingly real, yet intangible and indefinable. It is not known whether animals other than man have this experience or not, since it is discoverable only to the one possessing it, and the existence of it must be revealed to others by language. When certain centers in the cortex are destroyed or temporarily non-functioning, the individual is no longer conscious of sensations governed by these centers. It is therefore assumed that the action of these centers is a fundamental condition for the appearance of consciousness.

Broadly speaking one is either conscious or unconscious of his surroundings at any moment. One commonly hears of *subconscious states,* in which cortical reactions take place which are below the threshold of consciousness. There is no clear knowledge either as to the existence of the subconscious or the degree of its influence. It is theoretically possible that neural reactions take place in the brain which are of such a nature or so slight as to fail to mount clearly into consciousness. It appears reasonable that such reactions could store up neural energy in such a way as to influence later behavior, either of a conscious or unconscious automatic type.

ELEMENTARY CONSCIOUS STATES.—The simplest type of cortical reaction is a *sensation.* This is a state of awareness of a pure quality without attaching any meaning to the quality. As such, sensation is a theoretical abstraction. The adult seldom if ever experiences a true sensation. To the new-born babe sensations must be the rule rather than the exception. In the words of William James, the infant's world is a "buzzing, booming confusion." As time passes and the same kinds of sensations are repeated, they are no longer isolated in consciousness, but are placed in relation to each other, and meanings are derived by associative processes which are considered in the following chapter.

Sensations are classified according to the sense organ which gives rise to them. It has been found that when sense organs cease to function in early childhood the corresponding area in the cortex of the brain does not develop. Such was the case with Laura Bridgman who became blind and deaf at two years of age. An autopsy showed that the cortex was comparatively thin in the areas corresponding to the senses of which she had been deprived.

When a sensation has been experienced it leaves an impression in the neurone which may recur, more or less accurately, in consciousness as an *image*. The sensation itself originates by the impulse set up in the sense organ, but the image is centrally initiated. Images occur at times when there is no immediate sensory stimulation. The image makes possible all higher thought processes.

A conscious experience which is of a very primitive nature is that of *feeling*. This is not to be confused with emotion, but means merely an awareness of pleasantness or unpleasantness. A sensation may have a feeling element which is quite different from the sensation itself. Feeling may be a kind of organic sensation, although no sense organ is known to be specifically concerned with feeling. It is dependent on thalamic activity rather than cortical functioning.

Ordinarily these elemental states; sensation, image, and feeling are mingled in experience. Several sensations may be combined so as to form a blend. Several sensations or images together with the feelings induced by them may form a feeling-tone.

The neural process in the cortex must be regarded also as a possible stimulus which may set off reactions of various types. Behavior which results from an image or idea is called *ideomotor* action to distinguish it from sensori-motor activity, which is the result of an ordinary sensory stimulus. Much of man's behavior is of this type. If one thinks of a surgical operation he may find his pulse rate changed, and discover that his muscular tensions increase. Reactions of this type are definitely limited to responses which have been learned or acquired in association with the idea.

REFLEX ACTION.—A very primitive type of reaction which man possesses is called the *reflex*. Some include among the reflex activities those automatic organic processes, such as the rhythmic beating of the heart and the peristaltic movements of the stomach. What is ordinarily meant by the term, however, is some kind of an external or internal adjustment to sensory stimuli. The neural arc employed is very direct, and is spoken of as a *reflex arc*. Any of the nerve centers may be made use of, from comparatively simple ganglia and spinal cord connections to the brain masses themselves.

No consciousness is required in order to produce the response. An object suddenly passes or approaches one's eyes. Quick as a flash the eyelids close. The wink reflex has taken place. The individual may soon afterward become conscious of the occasion and the reaction, but consciousness played no part in producing the reaction. Other illustrations of the reflex are the pupillary reflex to light, sneezing, coughing, the knee jerk, and jumping back from a pin prick or contact with a hot stove.

The reflex is usually protective and is merely the working of a neural pathway which is definitely inborn. At birth, babies possess certain reflexes, such as crying, sucking, and grasping. Some of these gradually disappear or lose strength in time, while other reflexes may mature. The reflexes are the elementary reactions out of which all complex actions of all kinds are built. They are thus basic to habit-formation. Some of the reflexes are comparatively simple, while others may be very complex. It is practically impossible to analyze all behavior into the reflexes of which it is composed. Reflex action is ordinarily thought of as motor. By analogy one may consider it also as glandular, or neural. Sensation itself may be thought of as a reflex neural reaction in such a region of the cortex as to produce consciousness.

VOLUNTARY ACTION.—Behavior which takes place as a result of more or less deliberate thought is likely to be much more complex than ordinary reflex action. The performing of any act which requires conscious attention for its consummation, or decisions leading to further activity is of this type.

> "A voluntary movement, however simple it may be, is a psychological act of some complexity, that is to say, every movement is preceded or accompanied by certain sensations and perceptions which depend upon sensory stimulations occurring at that time, or upon experiences derived from conditions of excitation that have occurred at some previous period—every action is part of a train of conscious or subconscious processes whose neural mechanism extends over wide regions of the cortex." [2]

Reactions of certain skeletal muscles and cortical neurones are subject to voluntary control. It is probable that the smooth muscles and glands are free from any great amount of such conscious control.

The psychologist is particularly concerned with the human adjustments and activities which involve the use of the higher brain centers. Learning, personality and intelligence are not exhibited by separate organs and systems of the body, but are the products of the entire behaving organism.

ATTENTION.—Every individual is constantly subject to a complex mixture of stimuli which are competing for recognition. He will attend to some of these but will be totally unaware, or only vaguely aware, of others. *Attention* is basically a motor process involving a muscular response to certain stimuli. It is an adjustment to best fulfill the end of observing. In order to see an object clearly, the head must be turned so that the eyes may bear upon it, the eyes must be focused and adjusted for distance. A sharp noise will bring the whole body alertly erect and cause one to turn his head so that the noise may be more clearly heard. In any sensory experience there is a state of motor readiness.

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[2] W. H. Howell, *A Text-Book of Physiology* (W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1915), p. 201.

The mental aspects of attention are difficult of clear analysis. Some sensations, images, or feelings, or compounds of these, are always in the *focal center* of consciousness. Many other brain processes may be active simultaneously, but in varying degrees of intensity, so they may be said to be more or less *marginal.* One may stand perfectly motionless and regard a landscape with the eyes fixed upon a house in the foreground. The details of the house alone will in that case be visible. Other objects may be seen, but less and less clearly as they approach the edge of the circle of vision. Now, without moving the body or eyes, the observer may shift his attention, at least for a brief period, to a tree at the edge of the scene. He is no longer aware of the house which is in the focus of his vision, but only of the tree which he can see but vaguely. But while thus attending, he has the impulse to turn his eyes toward the tree, and only with the greatest difficulty can he resist doing so. The attention cannot be effectively centered on the tree, because it must constantly be directed to the matter of eye-control.

One may attend to *subjective* as well as *objective data.* With eyes closed one may regard the images which come to him. In this way he may review events which have previously happened, recall symbols, words, and sounds, or manipulate ideas. Absent-mindedness is a mental state in which the individual is so attentive to subjective states that he fails to take note of objective facts about him. Day-dreaming is a form of absent-mindedness. Attention may be given to future events as well as present or past. The desire to do something, or the wish for something is a form of attention which carries with it a very complex pattern of reactions.

Attention is determined by any one of a number of factors or a combination of them. *Objective conditions,* such as loudness of tone, intensity of pitch, brightness of color, extremes of heat or cold, determine the direction of attention of an individual.

Sudden changes of motion in the stimulus tend to arrest the attention. Advertisers make great use of such factors. *Subjective conditions* are even more influential. The mental attitude, as in the case of curiosity or a desire to observe, gives a state of motor readiness favorable to attention to certain things. One's habits have much to do with attention. If one has formed habits of diffused attention, almost any factor in the environment may set off an attentive reaction. If one has formed habits of concentrated attention in certain lines, other elements in the surroundings will tend to be ignored. In general those things which are of interest to the observer tend to draw his attention. Throughout life one tends to attend to those elements for which he feels the most distinct need. The power to concentrate is greatly affected by native mental ability, disease, fatigue, and emotional conditions.

It is common to distinguish between *voluntary* and *involuntary attention*. The latter is a form of reflex activity such as is found when a person looks up on hearing a sharp noise. Attention may be given in spite of one's contrary desire. Distractions are of this type. In the case of voluntary attention the individual is conscious of a definite mental process and a decision to pay attention and so may be considered active in the situation. A third type of attention is sometimes distinguished, that in which a process has become automatic or conditioned by interest so that the attention is freed from the minute details. The pianist in the early stages finds it necessary to pay very close attention to the correct placement of his fingers for each note of the score. After years of practice the placement of the fingers requires no attention whatever, or is *"non-voluntary."*

IMITATION.—Not only is a large share of one's attentive activities engaged in the observation of other people, but all individuals have a tendency to *imitate* others' behavior. The small child will imitate his father's manner of walk; the pupil will copy his behavior after the characteristics of his teacher. It is commonly known that a yawn is contagious. This tendency exists independently of any deliberate intent to imitate, although effort to do so is much more effective as a rule. The power and tendency to imitate is especially significant in learning. Language is learned chiefly through imitative behavior.

TENDENCIES TO REACTION.—In addition to marked reactions there are *tendencies to reaction.* These tendencies are merely evidences of actual reactions which are taking place within the organism, but which are so slight as to be inappreciable. However their cumulative effect tends to influence outward behavior. Stimuli and their responses may be so related as to place the individual in a state of readiness. He is then predisposed toward a certain line of behavior. Mental sets, wants, cravings, and motives are of this type. When a certain appropriate stimulus is then applied, a whole series of reactions toward which he is tending may be set off. One's behavior at any moment is highly significant in setting off certain organic or neural responses which affect all future behavior, giving *prepotent tendencies* along certain lines. The individual is thus always a part of the situation that produces a response. If one could know the state of readiness of an individual at the moment a stimulus is presented, he could readily predict what would be the outcome. This is manifestly impossible except in very simple situations. If one were to place a plate of food before a hungry dog, he would ordinarily be able to anticipate what the dog would do. But if the dog had been severely punished for eating from plates, the prediction might be inaccurate. Human psychology may never be an exact science, for this calls for a high degree of accuracy in prediction.

An *impulse* is a tendency to activity which nearly becomes actual, or is almost realized. The failure for it to do so may be because of lack of strength of the tendency, or to some restraint or conflicting tendency which successfully overcomes it. Thus one may have the impulse to speak in anger, but be prevented by past habits of patience, or a sudden thought of consequences.

A response may be delayed in its appearance, in the meantime giving no evidence of its existence as a tendency. A stimulus may be so weak as to cause no reaction of a known kind, but more stimuli of the same kind will increase the tendency to reaction. At last a certain added stimulus may cause the floodgates to burst, and the accumulated effects of all the stimuli will be evidenced in behavior. In this connection any reactions of the organism may be considered as *preparatory reactions* looking toward a final or consummatory reaction. The sense of hunger is of this type. This starts the individual in search of food and may involve a long series of activities incidental to the end reaction, that of eating.

Overt responses or tendencies to response may be partially checked or completely *inhibited,* as well as reënforced or *facilitated.* Let a person who has a tendency to sneeze be suddenly startled or otherwise distracted and the tendency may disappear. On the other hand if he were to look at a bright light the sneeze would be immediately and effectively completed. Nearly all physiological reactions involve a balance between stimulating and inhibitory tendencies. Muscles are arranged in antagonistic groups, the action of certain ones being balanced by the relaxation of others. The flexing of the arm at the elbow is accomplished by this means. This is known as *reciprocal innervation.*

FATIGUE.—A muscle soon gives evidence of *fatigue* if kept in a state of continuous and repeated contraction. In other words, it loses the power of being stimulated and of contracting. Fatigue is usually accompanied by a feeling of unpleasantness, or by a pain or aching sensation, the function of which is definitely protective, warning of a breakdown of tissues. Definite harm results if the fatigue is allowed to go too far. Fatigue is due to the accumulation in the muscle of products which act like toxins in diminishing sensitivity and activity.

Apparently most, if not all fatigue is muscular. It is common to distinguish between mental and physical fatigue, or between neural and muscular fatigue. Research has failed to show that the nerve fiber itself is fatigable, although it is possible that toxic substances may accumulate at the synapse so as to increase the resistance to nerve impulses. The fatigue which is induced by mental labor may be attributed, for the most part at least, to the muscles involved in giving attention. Although not all of these muscles are located, doubtless those of the back, neck, and eyes are often under a severe strain. Their combined effect is very pervasive.

There are various methods of overcoming fatigue. One of these is to increase the stimulus. Another is to make the muscles more sensitive and active through the use of tonics or stimulants. Drugs may be taken which directly affect the muscles or which send new supplies of energy to them from the ductless glands. Circulation of the blood may be increased so as to carry on the excretory function more rapidly. The most natural method of restoring fatigued tissue is by means of rest. Then the bodily processes freely and naturally function to eliminate the causes of fatigue. Recreation is helpful if the fatigued muscles are permitted to relax while others are used. Sleep is nature's chief restorative. The nerve pathways which make consciousness possible are then temporarily non-functioning, and this permits a relaxation of skeletal muscles and a general slowing down of bodily processes.

BEHAVIOR DEFECTS.—Psychological considerations are for the most part based on normal, healthy functioning of all processes. However, comparatively few persons are perfectly normal in all types of behavior. In fact deficiencies of various degrees are common. The study of these defects belongs to medical psychology. A brief analysis of the most prominent of such defects is given in later chapters, notably Chapter XIX, dealing with Mental Hygiene and Behavior Disorders.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Using the introspective method survey your own immediate past experience for evidences of muscle-tonus, and state specifically what these states of tonicity were. Give instances of tendency to reaction which you have experienced; of reflex action.
2. What is the relation between muscle-tonus and tendency to reaction?
3. During restless sleep what is the state of body tonus? What are typical causes of such restlessness?
4. Is there a reason or cause for every act of an individual? Is psychology sure as to how much the individual himself contributes in determining his own destiny? Is the criminal always responsibile?
5. Why should activity calling for volition be emphasized in all educational work?
6. What does the broad interpretation of behavior as here given add to the usual interpretation of the word?
7. Note instances where you have controlled others deliberately, also where you have failed of such attempted control. Analyze these in the light of the discussion here given.
8. If one is to lead another into religious action what is the first essential step?

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CHAPTER V

THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF ASSOCIATION

> Man lives in a world where each occurrence is charged with echoes and reminiscences of what has gone before, where each event is a reminder of other things.[1]
>
> JOHN DEWEY

PHYSICAL BASIS OF ASSOCIATION.—That part of the nervous system which is concerned with associative processes is of major significance. Without the associating or connecting fibers mental processes would never be experienced, or be related to one another or to other responses. It is the complicated mechanism of association that is responsible for the great variations in behavior, and for the remarkable richness of mental life.

THE SYNAPSE.—A special characteristic of neural tissue that makes coördination of the various parts and processes of the body possible is the linkage or chaining together of nerve units. This linkage is thought by some to be accomplished at the synapses, or junction points of two or more neurones. The synaptic theory has been challenged by Dr. Karl S. Lashley and other physiological psychologists, hence may not be accepted as fact. It is known that fibers within the end brushes of many different axones from many sense organs come in contact at the synapse with the fibers of the dendrite of one effector, so that the impulse coming from any or all of them may be directed along the axone of the receiving cell. On the other hand the impulse from an axone may be received through the dendrites of several different neurones. The former process may be thought of as *convergence,* and the latter as *diffusion* of nerve impulses. Thus conceived, the nervous system is a continuous, intricate, and complex net-work of microscopic nerve fibers. The reason why more is not known of the actual working of neural tissue is that it is practically impossible to prepare a specimen for the microscope so that it will continue to function while it is being observed.

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[1] John Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1920), p. 1.

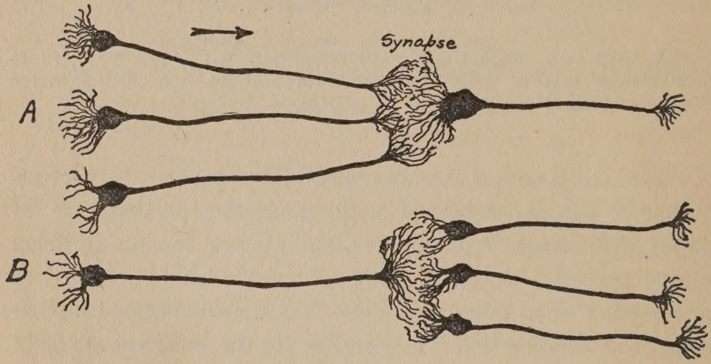

FIG. 5
Convergence and Diffusion of Nerve Impulses

Nerve impulses are merged with one another in the nervous system, and are also associated with responses to which they lead. The responses themselves are also interrelated in myriad ways. It is impossible even to estimate the almost infinite combinations of associations that may or do take place in the nervous system. In some of the simpler types of behavior the associations may be identified accurately, and the neural mechanism by which they are effected may be traced.

AUTONOMIC ASSOCIATIONS.—In the autonomic division of the nervous system the ganglia are connected with each other and also with the spinal nerves. The autonomic nerve path is made up of two chief neurones: (1) an axone which arises from the spinal cord or lower brain centers and ends at the dendrites of a cell in one of the ganglia, and (2) an axone originating in a ganglionic center and terminating in vital organs or other tissues. In most cases these latter axones return from the ganglion to the spinal cord and are distributed over the body in company with the cerebro-spinal nerve fibers. Autonomic nerves are efferent or motor, in the sense that they carry the stimulus to reacting mechanisms.

All of the centers in which the autonomic impulses originate, whether spinal or cranial, are intricately related through the ganglia or plexuses. In this way a defective function in one of the visceral organs may automatically affect the function of other organs. These organs are said to be sympathetically affected. Impulses which are occasioned by stimuli resulting from the functioning of one organ may set off a whole series of complex reactions in other associated organs, so that the body may be thought of as tending to function as a whole.

It has been noted that the autonomic division is in general not under direct voluntary control. One hears of instances in which an individual is able to control the rate of heart beat by an act of will, but these have not been substantiated. One may increase the rate of his pulse by deliberately fixing his attention on some vivid emotional experience which he has had and thus reviving old associations, but this is not a direct control.

CEREBRO-SPINAL ASSOCIATIONS.—The connections made in the cerebro-spinal division of the nervous system are of special significance for thought processes. Although it is possible that linkages are made in isolated synapses, the majority of them are set up in the nerve centers proper.

The fibers of the sensory nerve tracts terminate in the cortex of the brain. Each end organ is apparently represented here by one or more neurones, so that the senses are said to be *localized* in the brain. The chief *sensory area* is just back of the fissure of Rolando in each hemisphere. This fissure extends from the central fissure laterally at about the middle of the cerebra. The sensory nerve impulses are registered in consciousness as sensations only when connections are made with the proper brain centers. When the brain is exposed and these centers are artificially stimulated the corresponding sensation is recorded in consciousness.

In front of the fissure of Rolando is located the *motor area* in which axones of efferent or outgoing motor nerves originate. Each of these terminates in some muscle, gland, or possibly some nerve center. The reacting mechanisms are thus also localized in the brain. An artificial stimulation of one of these points has been found to produce a reaction in a corresponding muscle. The motor and sensory areas are known as *projection areas* of the cortex.

The neurones of the cortex are so closely related that no one of them can be considered as necessarily functioning alone, or totally independent of the others. The sensory neurones are intimately associated with each other as also are the motor neurones. In order that there may be responses to stimuli there must be definite association pathways over which the nerve impulses may pass. Those areas which are chiefly concerned with connections are known as the *association areas* of the cortex. These constitute the major part of the cortical surface. It is possible that the various strata within the cortex itself may have varied associative functions as well, but this has not been definitely proved. The association areas are recognized as those parts of the cortex "in which the higher and more complex mental activities are mediated; the true organs of thought." [2]

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[2] W. H. Howell, *Textbook of Physiology* (W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1915), p. 223.

The association areas are commonly classified into frontal, medial, and posterior areas. These areas, especially the first, are much more developed in man, relative to the rest of the brain, than is the case with lower animals, showing their greater importance in mental life. The brains of idiots show a comparative lack of development of these areas and of the neurones of which they are composed. Some claim that the frontal areas are chiefly concerned with relating experiences from internal sensations, while the posterior have to do largely with visual and auditory sensations, but evidence seems to point to the use of the entire cortex in mediating higher mental processes. In view of this fact it is obvious that the claims of phrenologists that certain definite areas on the surface of the brain are the location of specific human traits are absurd. The viewpoint that specific overdeveloped brain areas are represented by bumps on the skull is fallacious. The brain adapts itself in form to the natural or artificial conformation of the skull in which it is located.

The association fibers which connect the various regions of the cortex pass below the cortex through the central whitish mass. The two hemispheres are connected by bands of fibers, called *commissural fibers*. By these fibers the functional activities of the two cerebra are associated. This explains the fact of the coördination of the lateral halves of the body.

Levels of Association.—There are degrees of complexity of association pathways. For convenience of treatment they are ordinarily classified into three rather distinctive groups or levels. The first or lowest level, in which the associative centers of the spinal cord and ganglia are chiefly employed, is comparatively simple. The central part of the cord is made up of cell bodies with their synaptic connections. The outer portion is made up of nerve fibers. Nerve impulses of a certain type from a sensory organ may be thought of as entering the cord, making a comparatively short passage lengthwise of the cord, establishing one or more connections in the central core of the cord, and issuing as a motor impulse. Connections which refer to autonomic processes are established in the ganglionic centers. In this level of association are found the true reflex connections.

Associations of the second level are more complex as a rule. These are located in the centers of the mid-brain and cerebellum. Connections which govern in well-coördinated habits or skills, and many complex automatic bonds are effected at this level. The

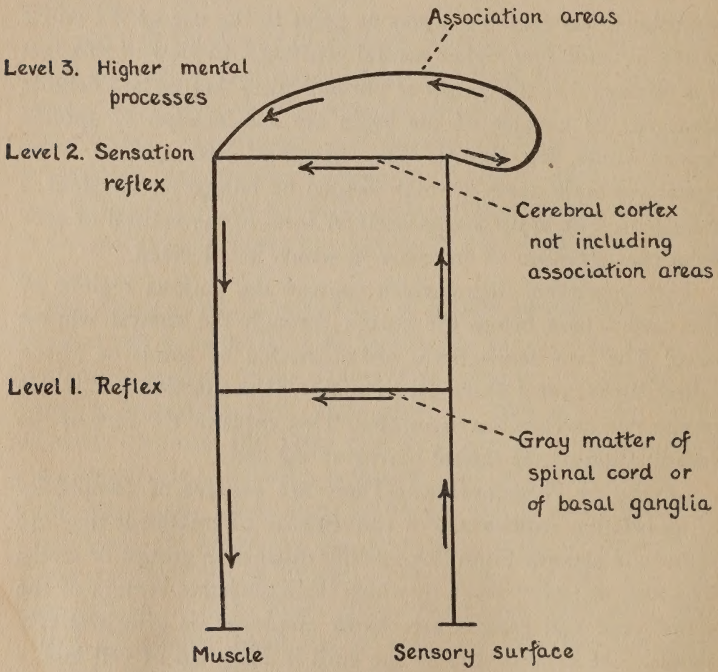
Association areas
Level 3. Higher mental processes
Level 2. Sensation reflex
Cerebral cortex not including association areas
Level 1. Reflex
Gray matter of spinal cord or of basal ganglia
Muscle
Sensory surface

FIG. 6
Schematic Representation of the Nervous System Regarded as Made Up of Three Levels of Sensori-motor Arcs

(From Edward H. Cameron, *Psychology and the School,* by permission of The Century Co., publishers.)

connections having to do with respiration and circulation are found here.

Associations made through the cerebral cortex are recognized as third level connections. These are extremely complex in involved possibilities. However, comparatively simple associations may be established at the third level, and some of those at lower levels may be relatively complex. As a matter of fact there is no absolute line of demarcation between the three levels.

Association as a Synthetic Process.—In Chapter III it was noted that the function of the sense organs is analytical, in the sense that objects are broken up into items of experience. Through associations made between the sensations they are related to each other, or *synthesized* so as to form *percepts* and *concepts*. Only when sensations are united into organized, meaningful knowledge is mental life, as such, even possible. The idiot may possess a normal sensory mechanism, and have all of the ordinary sensations. His state of idiocy is then due to his incapacity in establishing connections between these sensations, or of associating adequate responses to them.

In a very real sense the individual constructs his own world. Various sensations coming through certain of the gateways of sense organs are merged by the process of association into a more or less adequate percept of the object observed. A rose is something more than an isolated odor; a greenness or redness; a smooth, hard, pliable stalk with sharp projections; or a source of pain. These and other qualities are identified as belonging to the same object, so that a percept of the particular rose is constructed. The observer knows it as a rose in case the name "rose" is associated with the object which he is regarding.

At this stage the individual's concept of rose as a generic term covering all roses is limited to the one set of observations and hence is very inadequate. Further experiences with different kinds of roses lead him to recognize that there are many different variations or species of the general class. The concept is broadened to include whiteness, yellowness, and other color qualities as well as redness; to extend the concept in matters of form and size; and to eliminate the painful thorn as an essential characteristic. Concepts within concepts are built up, such as "tea-rose," "American beauty rose," "climbing rose."

All abstract ideas and concepts such as honesty, fidelity, truth, and patriotism are built up in much the same manner from concrete experiences. This is a most significant fact to keep in mind in all of our relationships with others. Some lack the experiences which others have had, with the result that their concepts are not in agreement. Others lack the ability to form broad concepts regardless of experience and find it necessary to base their thought largely in concrete terms. In either case there is no common basis of understanding, and unfortunately there result violent disagreements, recriminations, and even abuse, with doubts of the integrity of one's opponent. Two men who are absolutely sincere may differ widely. It is interesting in this connection to note how much misunderstanding frequently arises over the use of words. Words gather to themselves great bundles of associated meanings for any individual, in addition to the formal definitions, and hence may have greatly variant meanings for those who use them.

LAWS OF ASSOCIATION.—The processes by which associations come to be formed is subject to an ordered control. The laws of association are convenient ways of explaining how certain causes operate.[3] The basic law is that of *contiguity,* which means that those qualities, objects, or reactions come to be associated which are closely related in a time or space setting. If the redness and the odor of the rose are experienced at different times and places, with no other binding element, there is no likelihood that the two sensations will be combined or associated in any way. If, on the contrary, they are presented at the same time or in close succession, or in relation to the same object, the association tends to be made. It is possible, however, for sensations which have been experienced in isolation to become related through the agency of a third experience which has been associated with each of the sensations in their particular time and place settings. If the term "rose" is associated with the quality of redness, and later with the distinctive odor, the redness and odor will tend to become associated, the name acting as the binding element. Probably the major portion of associations are made in this fashion.

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[3] These laws and facts can also be explained in terms of conditioned reflexes (Pavlov, Watson), associative shifting (Thorndike), and in other ways.

The clearness with which associations are made and their potency are determined in accordance with the law of *emphasis*. Many factors are involved in reënforcing and strengthening associations. The vividness of sensations has much to do with their effective combination. A weak sensation may associate readily with another of about the same degree of vividness, but fail to make sufficient impression in company with one so strong that it receives the entire attention. The mental state of the individual, involving interest, readiness for the experience, and past habits, determines whether or not the particular associations will be observed or neglected. A striking similarity or contrast in the observed elements is usually effective in forming associations. A cause and effect relation which is apparent to the observer in successive experiences is instrumental in emphasizing relationships.

THE CONTENT OF PERCEPTION.—It was noted in the preceding chapter that the adult never has pure sensations. Any sensation that has a meaning attached to it is in effect a percept. Not all percepts are of equal strength. In some cases the meaning attaching to an experience may be very clear and rich, in other cases it may be extremely vague and meager. A percept may have a "fringe" of meanings which, although significant, are yet intangible and not easily expressed.

Some percepts are made up of blends of individual sensations or percepts of such a nature as to give little or no indication of their origin. The perception of distance is the result of complex association of various experiences involving: strains in the external muscles of the eye used in focusing the two eyes on the object, strains in the ciliary muscles used in adjusting the lens, the size of the area of stimulation on the retina, the merging of the images from the two eyes, muscular effort required in reaching or otherwise approaching the object, the loudness of sound emanating from the object, the intensity of light rays coming from the object, and similar factors.

Many percepts have the quality of feeling-tone, often derived through the kinæsthetic sensations, or through the functioning of autonomic nerve tracts in effecting organic sensations. Perceptual experiences thus often become associated with indefinable emotions, wants, yearnings, aversions, and feelings of pleasantness and unpleasantness. Concrete objects are used as symbols whose only value may lie in their ability to evoke great aspirations, sympathies, and loyalties.

Apperception was for long treated as a special mental function. It is now regarded as merely the statement of a fact regarding the way in which perceptual processes take place. One can associate only those elements which have entered into his experience. Only those phases of one's surroundings which can be thus associated have meaning. Those associations which have been most strongly made, largely determine what one is able to perceive in a specific situation. The small child sees in a book only something which offers interesting activity, such as tearing the pages; the older child considers it as a source of enjoyment in providing colored pictures; the housewife finds it a source of great inspiration; and the publisher may look upon it only as an example of fine craftmanship. If one wishes another to get his point of view he must carefully provide experiences which will give the requisite associations. All teachers must keep in mind the adequate preparation of the learner for the next lesson.

ILLUSIONS.—Many impressions which are received are found to be in error as estimated in the light of later experiences, or as compared with the experiences of others. Errors of perception are called *illusions*. Some of these are due to the faulty character of the stimulus. The mirage is an excellent illustration of a visual illusion of this type. Heated air arising in waves distorts the light waves so as to give an impression of bodies of water where no water exists. Defects in the sense organs also give rise to illusions. One who has astigmatic vision may see the moon as an oval instead of an orb and so build up a set of wrong associations. The stimulus or stimuli may be clearly and accurately impressed, but by their very nature may carry a suggestion which impresses the observer unless he is able to analyze the situation well. A square placed within a circle with the four corners touching the circle gives to the circle the appearance of distortion or flatness near the points of contact. The element of contrast which is helpful in emphasizing associations may lead to error. A room of moderate temperature is perceived as very warm when one enters it from a cold exterior. A large object appears much lighter than a much smaller one of equal weight. The mental attitude of the observer determines what one sees. If one is looking for sheep on a misty evening every rock and bush will be perceived first as a sheep. It is a well known fact that he who seeks faults will find an abundance of them in his associates, while he who searches optimistically for virtues is equally certain to discover them. One's background of experience also leads to many wrong interpretations. A neighbor is classified as "proud" and "disdainful" because of an evident haughty bearing, but is later found to be very democratic and sociable.

Defects of Association.—In addition to the illusions which characterize normal behavior there are various types of deficiency which are traceable to pathological conditions. The child may be born with a lack of capacity to form many associations because the connecting neural pathways are defective or blocked so they cannot function properly. Many types of feeble-mindedness are of this nature. The lowest class of idiot, lacking any power to form higher associations, exists as a mass of organic tissue largely on the level of autonomic associations. The person who is on the border line between normal mentality and feeble-mindedness may possess all normal functions, but lack richness of associative power.

Associative defects may also be the result of disease or injury which affects the association tracts. A blood clot or lesion of the brain may cut off the lines of communication between the sensory and motor nerve and thus eliminate the normal response. In this way one may be afflicted with aphasia, or loss of power to speak words, although able to vocalize freely, and although the sensory and motor nerves are normal. Partial aphasia is the loss of ability to speak certain words. In the same way writing, hearing, and visual associations may be interfered with. In some cases the defect is only temporary, but in others it may be permanent.

Questions and Exercises

1. Explain why certain forms of indigestion may be attributed to eye strain.
2. On visiting a friend in Chicago a man noted that his host was very reckless in dodging through automobile traffic on crowded streets. A year later he again visited his friend and found him extremely cautious. List five things any one of which might have produced this change and explain why.

3. Tell what feeling-tones you have associated with the following; and explain why.

Lohengrin Wedding March	Old Black Joe
Jazz music	Nearer My God to Thee

4. Discuss the psychological import of the following verse:

   If I knew you and you knew me,
   If each of us could plainly see
   And with the inner sight divine
   The meaning of your heart and mine,
   I'm sure that we would differ less
   And clasp our hands in friendliness,
   I'm sure we'd pleasantly agree
   If I knew you and you knew me.

5. Explain why it is important that a boy shall honor his mother and sisters; why the child should learn to respect property rights.
6. In the light of facts regarding association would it be advisable to have gay parties and dramatic farces in the same room in which religious services are held? Why does humor have to be used carefully in serious talks or sermons?
7. Colors are said to produce feeling-tones; red giving stimulation, yellow being cheerful, and blue and green restful. If this is true criticize the white color used in hospitals. What colors should predominate in churches? Have you ever noted disagreeable feelings in churches because of color effects?
8. It is said that a boy may break up a brass band in the course of its playing by sucking a lemon in view of the players. Why?

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CHAPTER VI

HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT

> Your child is born. There is the latest fruit of a thousand thousand years of slow gradual development—the sensitive little individual stamped with its heredity, but tuned to receive and be influenced by a million environmental pressures that will close in on it from every side and every minute of its life.
>
> LUTHER BURBANK

DETERMINING INFLUENCES.—The child is born with a very complex physical structure including the neural equipment briefly described in the preceding chapters. Under normal conditions all biological mechanisms come to maturity and function in a manner predetermined in the fertilized cell by *heredity*. *Racial heredity* is responsible for the gross basal structures which are common to all normal members of the human race.

The influences of heredity are closed at the moment when life begins in the fertilized ovum. Physical inheritance has made its entire contribution. All further influences on growth and development must come from *environment*. The environmental influences operating during the prenatal life of the child are called *congenital*. These have to do chiefly with nourishment, disease, and accident. Influences operative *after* birth involve social heredity, education, training, disease, accident, nourishment, and many other factors. These act upon the individual through forces of physical environment made up of people and things, seen and unseen.

Social heredity includes such characteristic types of behavior as language, customs, religious beliefs and observances, moral codes, legal and political ideals and institutions, and racial and family loyalties. These are acquired through all social contacts, but in large part from the parents, because the child has his principal contacts with them during the early formative years. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish between the influences of physical and social heredity. One cannot always readily determine whether the child's resemblance, in point of conduct, to one or both parents is owing to the fact that he is closely related to them through inheritance, or that he has lived with them since birth. As the child's world broadens to include many varied playmates, teachers, fellow-students, club leaders, and, in

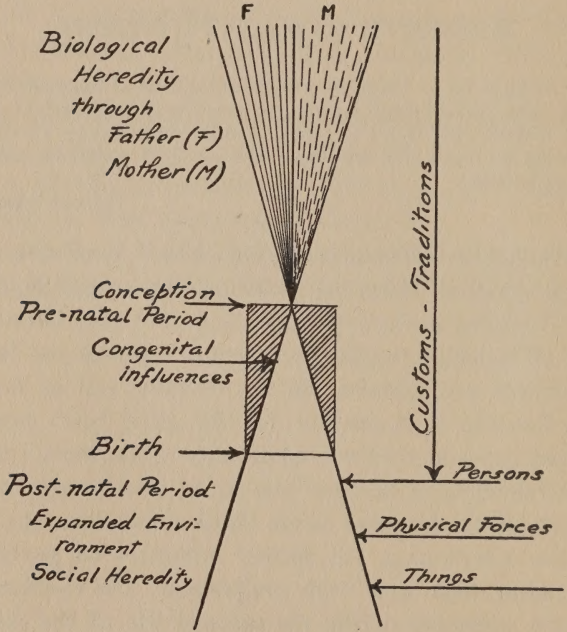

FIG. 7
Influences Which Determine Behavior

mature life, social, professional, and business associates, his social heredity becomes more varied, intensified, and enlarged. All human contacts form a part of his environment and assist in determining his future conduct.

Many scientific investigators have attempted to evaluate hereditary and environmental factors with a view to determining which of the two is the more important. Thus far conclusions are only tentative. Some have even ventured an opinion that heredity accounts for about two thirds of an individual's destiny. It cannot be accurately stated that one influence is greater than the other. Both are absolutely necessary. Neither can be defective without more or less seriously influencing behavior. The best type of environment is powerless to impart capacities which are lacking through heredity. On the other hand, the best kind of heredity may be nullified by wrong environment.

Man should not be regarded as merely a passive recipient of these influences. He is an intensely active participant in the play of forces. By his very nature he develops powers of memory, imagination, and thought which enable him to take a conscious part in the relating of forces which affect his destiny.

THE MECHANISM OF HEREDITY.—Within the nucleus of each germ cell in the human organism are small particles, twenty-four in number, called *chromosome bodies.* Careful research gives a basis for believing that each of the chromosome bodies contains exceedingly minute elements called *genes* which are the determiners of hereditary characters. When the ovum is fertilized the chromosome bodies of both parent cells unite. When the division of the cell takes place, thus initiating the growth of the embryo, these chromatin bodies split lengthwise so as to divide the genes evenly. In each succeeding division the same process is repeated.

When the process of cell-differentiation takes place in the growing embryo, the genes determine the structure and function of the various organs of the body, the particular physical features, and even the most minute physical traits. The exact number of genes carried in a single chromosome is not known, and the ways in which they combine and coördinate are beyond the possibilities of estimate.

The germ cells, forming the germ plasm, which are early set apart in the process of differentiation, are fairly exact copies of the fertilized germ cell. They are to a great extent independent of the other tissues throughout the life of the organism. They are, however, indirectly influenced by energy imparted by bodily processes, or by lack of nourishment resulting from defective operation of these processes.

As evidence that the germ cells are not identical throughout the life of the individual, it is noteworthy that children of the same parents are seldom similar in many traits. Twins are generally much more alike than those who hold ordinary brother or sister relationship. It is common to make a distinction between twins that are "like" and those that are "unlike." The former resemble each other in many different ways, both in structure and in behavior, so that they are said to be identical. They are supposed to have developed from the same fertilized cell. Unlike twins, although more similar than siblings, those who hold only a brother or sister relationship, are yet easily distinguishable. It is thought that their difference is due to the fact that they are developed from two ova which have been separately fertilized at the same time.

Inheritance of Acquired Traits.—The question as to whether or not traits acquired during the lifetime of an individual may be passed on to following generations through heredity is of great significance. If persons transmit to their children by inheritance the bad traits and habits which they have formed, the problem of control would be an altogether different proposition than would be the case if no acquired traits could be thus transmitted. If the children yet to be born could be given higher ideals, a greater love of learning, and even altered physical characteristics by impressing these traits on the germ plasm through influencing the behavior of the parents there would be even a greater incentive in remedial work. As yet no assurance can be given of such an outcome. It is clearly known that a trait which is forced upon the organism by some outside agent, such as is the case when a finger is accidentally cut off, is not transmitted. The child born later will not thereby be lacking a finger. There is a possibility that traits which are acquired through a long time by natural adaptation of the organism in response to organic needs may be transmitted as such to some degree, or so impress the germ plasm as to effect other changes. Many biologists are of this opinion, and some experimental evidence points in this direction, but no scientific conclusion can as yet be drawn.

MUTATION.—Differences between individuals, or distinct departures from the norm, may be due to *mutations,* or *sport variations* which take place in the germ cell at about the time of fertilization or in the process of differentiation of functions. The exact nature and cause of such changes are unknown; hence they are regarded as chance factors. They often result in extreme abnormalities in structure and function, as well as modifications which are so slight as to be unnoticed. Once existent, the true mutation may be passed on to descendants in accordance with the ordinary process of heredity. A child may be born minus one finger even though none of his ancestry manifested this characteristic. In this case many of his progeny may be born with the same finger lacking.

THE LAWS OF HEREDITY.—Only within the past century has there been any precise knowledge of the nature of heredity, the functions and factors involved, or the laws that operate. It is extremely important for the psychologist that these fields shall be investigated and generally known. The inheritable structures of the nervous system, muscles, and glands relate primarily to behavior functions, and thus the whole field of mental life is involved.

David Starr Jordan clearly states the hereditary tendency as a law:

> There is something inherent in each developing animal that gives it an identity of its own. Although in its young stages it may be indistinguishable from some other kind of animal in similar stages, it is sure to come out, when fully developed, an individual of the same kind as its parents were or are. The young fish and the young salamander . . . are indistinguishably alike, but one embryo is sure to develop into a fish and the other into a salamander. This certainty of an embryo to become an individual of a certain kind is called the law of heredity.[1]

Some detailed characteristics are attributable to inheritance from near ancestry. That a child often resembles a parent in one or more traits is a fact of common observation. These resemblances are often very striking. But children are also markedly different from their parents. Heredity is responsible for differences as well as resemblances. A broad definition of heredity is, "the process which is responsible for the particular combination of transmissible characters possessed by any organism." [2]

The Austrian monk, Mendel, was the first one to explain the way in which traits may occur in children in such a pattern as to make them very unlike either parent in certain ways, but very much like some ancestor of a remote generation. According to his statement, called the *Mendelian Law,* the unit characters in the germ cells, represented by the genes, do not blend, but remain distinct after the cells are fertilized. Contrasting hereditary traits retain their individuality, and occur in pairs of which one is *dominant* and the other *recessive.*

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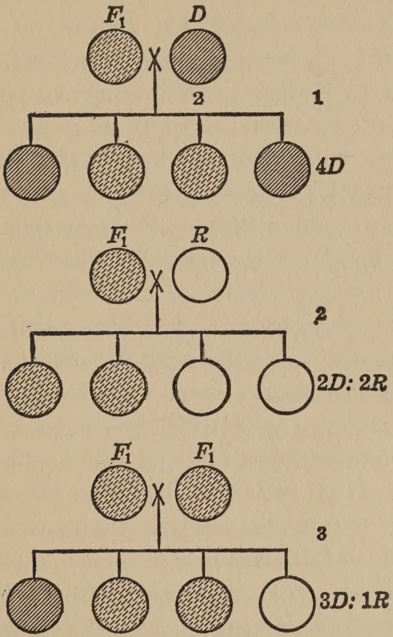
[1] D. S. Jordan and V. L. Kellogg, *Animal Life* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1900), p. 88.

[2] L. Burlingame, H. Heath, E. G. Martin, G. J. Pierce, *General Biology* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1922), p. 350.

To illustrate the operation of this law, it may be assumed that one parent has a dominant trait of black hair, and the other a recessive trait of red hair. All of their children will tend to show the dominant trait. Some or all of them will possess, however, the latent characteristic or tendency of redness of hair. If one of these children marries another person having the same recessive trait, about one in four of their children will show the trait. Of the remaining three children who show no evidence of red hair,



Adapted from Gruenberg.
FIG. 8
Mendel's Law of Segregation

one will not be able to transmit the characteristic to offspring, but two, like their parents, will carry and transmit it as a latent trait. Even after several generations in which redness of hair has not appeared in the ancestry of either parent, a child with red hair may be born because both parents had the recessive characteristic as a latent factor. The difficulty of studying and verifying the law with human beings is apparent, and for this reason experimental work with rats and guinea pigs, which are prolific breeders, is the usual procedure. In general the study of man has revealed no exceptions to the law, although small families and infant mortality make any adequate analysis impossible.

Consanguinity, or the mating of those of near relationship, such as cousins, is commonly regarded as involving very serious consequences to progeny. Instances of blindness, deafness, insanity, or other defects are cited as evidence that a curse rests upon such marriages. The reason for the relatively larger frequency of such deficiencies is found in the fact that through the union harmful recessive traits which characterize the members of a family group are emphasized and tend to show themselves in the offspring. If no such unit characters are present in the germ cells of the parents, the children will be normal.

This explanation of this law of heredity is of value in showing the manner in which traits are inherited. The study of *genetics* has made clear how this law and other laws of inheritance apply to various human characteristics. Human traits are for the most part not simple units, but the amalgamation of many characteristics, with the result that the possible combinations are very complex and therefore very difficult to trace.

INHERITABLE CHARACTERISTICS.—Man inherits, not only his body structure and organization, but also such traits as stature, weight, color of skin or eyes, and facial features. Consequently peculiarities such as an extra digit and certain sense defects are inherited. Many psychological authorities believe that mental characteristics are also heritable, including such traits as shyness, good memory, temperament, musical talent, nervous instability, general mental ability, and aggressiveness. Others are either dubious of such inheritance or deny it. Watson[3] recognizes the inheritance of traits that depend upon structure for their existence, but believes that the presence of such structures does not insure the existence of the mental function. According to this viewpoint, which appears to be sound, many of the structures, if not all, which man possesses would never be evident in function unless he were subject to certain environmental factors and conditions. The neural structure may give a certain predisposition of ability, but this may be shaped in a great variety of ways depending on the nature of the training received.

It is evident that a child who inherits a neural structure so defective as to lack essential processes of association can by no conceivable means exhibit mental abilities such as memory, imagination, and reasoning which are dependent on these associations. Feeble-mindedness is usually an inherited trait. In those cases where certain requisite structure is lacking or deficient, as a dominant or even a recessive characteristic of one or both parents, the inferior mentality of the progeny is definitely predetermined. Goddard's famous study[4] has shown how feeble-mindedness and its consequences of pauperism, crime, alcoholism, and prostitution continued for over a hundred years among the descendants of a union between an apparently normal man and a feeble-minded woman. The same man later married a normal woman and the descendants were normal with good records as citizens.

The inheritance of extreme types of feeble-mindedness may be clearly traced. Such is not the case, however, with the milder types. It can seldom be ascertained to what an extent these are determined by heredity as contrasted with disease, injury, congenital influences, and training. Some types of insanity are hereditary, but only as tendencies, which may often be prevented finding expression by means of proper surroundings, controls, and mental attitudes.

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[3] John B. Watson, *Behaviorism* (W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1926), Chaps. V and VI.

[4] H. H. Goddard, *The Kallikak Family* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912).

The query is often made, are diseases inherited? Disease is probably seldom, if ever, transmitted from parent to child as a unit character of the germ plasm. The child sometimes inherits a structural or constitutional weakness which predisposes him to being afflicted by a disease such as tuberculosis. Being born with less resistance than is normally the case, he will need to be especially guarded and nourished. Syphilis is commonly regarded as hereditary. Many children are already afflicted with this terrible disease at birth. This is not a case of real heredity, however, but of congenital disease. The child is infected in the foetal state. The disease readily attacks the nervous tissues with the result that children thus born are often deformed mentally as well as physically and become a burden and even menace to society.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES.—In view of the multitude of factors that operate in human life, it is small wonder that individuals differ in many varied respects. It is very important that these differences be taken into account. It would be absurd to expect everyone to look, act, feel, or think alike in all human relationships. Every individual is a personal equation. This variation is the natural result and an essential condition of progress. Much effort is concentrated on producing conformity to the social heritage of the group. Education and training of the rank and file of the people may tend to make them more like-minded along the line of civic-moral ideals and habits. It is well that this cannot be absolutely effected, however, since it has always been those who were different that have led mankind to higher levels of conduct. In certain aspects, such as those having to do with higher thought processes, correct education accentuates the existing differences between those with superior and inferior abilities.

SYSTEMATIC CONTROL OF HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT.—The organized study having to do with the improvement of mankind through heredity is known as *eugenics,* or the science of "right birth." It is the contention of eugenists that desirable traits, both dominant and recessive, may be and should be preserved and emphasized, while undesirable traits are eliminated. This can be accomplished only through such regulative control of mating and marriage as will prevent the admixture of hereditary strains which make for undesirable characteristics in the offspring. Laws forbidding the mating of definitely feeble-minded types, or of those holding a close family relationship, in some cases are advocated. It is further urged that the people at large be educated in the scientific facts relative to inheritance so that they may feel a personal responsibility for the welfare of the next generation. Eugenics is concerned with securing normal pre-natal conditions as well as with heredity, and to this end studies facts relative to the transmission of congenital defects and diseases. Every child has a right to be well-born and all possible efforts should be directed to this end.

The organized study of all factors of environment and training that may be used to improve the race is called *euthenics,* or the science of "right training." All institutions such as schools, churches, clubs, and charities that are concentrated on the purpose of eliminating from our civilization those tendencies which are harmful to man, and fostering those which are definitely helpful, are concerned with euthenics. They plan to effect their purpose through social heritage as embodied in laws, traditions, and ideals.

Both movements have their part to play, and neither can be counted as superior to the other. Until more is known than at present regarding heredity, and a more general ideal regarding eugenics is fostered, euthenics is probably of greater immediate significance because it is practical. Granted that a deficient birthright can never be corrected through environment, much may be done in the way of compensation. Each person must act with the conviction that even the slightest factor in the environment may influence human destiny for good or for ill.

Questions and Exercises

1. Recall cases of children who resembled one or both parents in specific traits, physical or mental. Can you be sure that these traits were inherited?
2. It has been shown by Galton and others that the sons of eminent men are more certain than others of becoming eminent. Does this prove that the sons inherited certain capacities from their fathers? Give reasons for your answer.
3. What are some of the difficulties involved in
   a. Putting a systematic program of eugenics into operation?
   b. Discovering whether or not a certain case of feeble-mindedness is remediable?
4. What are some of the moral implications involved in
   a. The sterilization of the mentally unfit?
   b. Birth control relative to heredity and also the proper rearing of children?
   c. Mating as directed by intelligent considerations rather than by love alone?
5. A man noted that a comparatively large proportion of the sons of clergymen became good citizens and prominent workers in selected fields, and used this fact as an illustration of heredity. Was he right?

6. Do you think the criminal is always a criminal by inheritance? Is he ever one by this means?
7. Consider the oak tree and trace the influences of heredity and environment in its development. Is it a true analogue of human life?

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CHAPTER VII

HABIT AND LEARNING

Habit is a cable. We weave a thread of it every day, and at last we cannot break it.

HORACE MANN

All habits gather by unseen degrees
As brooks make rivers, rivers run to seas.

JOHN DRYDEN

IMPORTANCE OF HABIT.—Habit is a most significant tendency of the human organism. Without habit one would be helpless, since he could not profit by experience. All that one acquires in the way of thoughts, feelings, and actions may be attributed to habit, although its use is commonly restricted to actions alone. Personality, in large part, is the product of complex combinations of habit.

Satisfactory adjustments to the situations in which an individual finds himself throughout life require that he shall have many habits. Other things being equal, the greater the number of desirable habits that a person possesses the more efficient he will be. Habit not only conserves energy, but also prevents sudden impulsive acts which would make for erratic behavior. For this reason it is sometimes called "the fly-wheel of society." It is not an unmixed blessing however, for too great an emphasis on habituation may prevent one from making ready adaptations in new situations. "Habit is either the best of servants, or the worst of masters."

THE NATURE OF HABIT.—A habit may be defined as an acquired mode of behavior resulting from the formation of certain associations which are more or less automatic and permanent. It is the tendency to repeat any form of behavior such as action, tendency to action, feelings, or trains of thought. In its early stages a habit may be unnoticeable, but after it is fully formed it may be a distinctive characteristic of one's personality.

In the broadest sense all habit-formation is learning and all learning is habit-formation. The infant comes into the world with great potentialities, in fact with certain elements of automatic response already in operation. From the moment of birth the child begins to form habits. Certain of the random reactions are selected and combined or reorganized into habits. Within a few weeks the child's behavior has become greatly modified, and habitual ways of doing things have become evident. He has learned to cry until he receives attention, to make certain definite movements, and to respond to his mother's voice in certain ways.

Much learning is of this natural, unconscious, automatic type. It is an adaptation to the particular stimuli received, and is essentially reflex in character. True habits are not formed in the earlier weeks of life, as the forms of behavior are constantly subject to modification by the multitude of experiences through which the baby passes. The small reaction systems which are then set up are altered and merged into others. The process of habit-formation is, however the same, whether the elements be simple or very complex. At certain later stages of development consciousness of learning may take place and conscious control of learning may be present, but the fundamental procedure is still the same.

The first step in all learning or habit-formation is a situation or stimulus which evokes a response, or series of responses. These may be comparatively simple reflexes or highly integrated systems of behavior. In case these random responses do not yield successful adaptation, other responses follow until a correct response is made. In its early stages all learning is of the *trial* *and error* type. The effort may be "blind," in the sense that correct responses are hit upon by chance, or it may be consciously directed, in the sense that memory and thought are brought into play. Man has a decided advantage over animals and small children in learning since he is able to deliberate, to analyze past trials, and to plan a systematic attack, thus shortening the process and rendering it more effective. He projects the trials mentally and, through the wealth of his experience, is able to anticipate the errors and eliminate them from his actual behavior.

After the correct response is reached the learner adopts this and tends to react to the same situation with the same successful response at all future times. The response is integrated with other responses in a complete system of behavior. As occasion arises, responses are modified according to need in the light of new experiences. When comparatively little further modification takes place, the reaction or pattern of reactions is recognized as a true habit.

Habits are thus *substitute reactions,* or *conditioned reflexes.* A new type of behavior has taken the place of the original natural reaction. As the habit is developed the reaction takes place more quickly and easily. There is an economy and a simplification of behavior, for the unsatisfactory responses which were first made are eliminated. The amount of energy and attention required for the performance of the act is diminished and fatigue is lessened. A true habit operates automatically without volition or consciousness of function. When conscious learning takes place the learner is at first very much aware of the attentive effort which he is making. As progress is made, consciousness of the details of the activity is reduced to its lowest level, and the attention is left free to deal with other matters while the habituated reaction goes on. The projection of consciousness into the situation when an habitual act is taking place tends to interfere with the action.

Habits may be classified as specific and general. The former are essentially fixed, and recur invariably in the same way. One may develop a fixed habit of using the word "ain't," of walking with a halting motion, or of twiddling his thumbs. General habits are adaptive in character. They exert a wide influence in many ways and under varying conclusions. Thus one may form the general habit of being courteous, with the result that all of his social acts are dominated by this tendency, even in new and very complex situations.

Habits are ordinarily differentiated from skills, the distinction being largely one of complexity. Skills are more or less elaborate combinations of specific habits, or an entire chain of adjustments that are more or less completely mechanized. Driving an automobile, and operating a typewriter are examples of skills. In the mental field one may develop skill in memory, imagination, or reasoning. Habits are formed at all levels of reaction and at all degrees of automatic control, from those which are almost identical with reflexes to the most involved skills, and from those which have been barely learned to completely developed reaction systems. Most so-called habits are really complexes of specific habits. Such is the case with health habits, social habits, and habits of moral and religious conduct. It is commonly recognized that one may have habits of courtesy and specific habits of doing good deeds, but there is often a failure to recognize open-mindedness, sincerity, loyalty, and similar attributes as habits.

It is unfortunately customary to refer to habits as undesirable. The term has been popularly associated with evil rather than with good. William James expressed the same thought in saying, "We talk of the smoking-habit, and the swearing-habit, and the drinking-habit, but not of the attention-habit, and the moderation-habit, or the courage-habit. But the fact is that our virtues are habits."

The Physiological Basis of Habits.—Two characteristics of neural tissues have previously been noted, sensitivity and conductivity. These are sufficient to explain simple sensations, direct associations, and responses. Two other characteristics are essential for habit formation. The first of these is *modifiability or plasticity*. When a nerve impulse passes over a neurone or a succession of neurones these patterns are altered in some way. By analogy it is said that "the path is deepened." The second characteristic is that of *permanence or fixity*. The nerve pathway tends to retain the change made in it by the impulse. Reflex arcs are neural pathways which are already fixed at birth or that come to maturity soon after birth. Simple habits may become so deeply impressed that they greatly resemble reflexes. Mannerisms such as sniffing, tossing the head, winking the eyes, or twisting the head, which have been repeated so often as to be practically ineradicable, are of this type.

It is not known what takes place in the nerve fiber itself to make this permanence possible. Reference has already been made to the synapse as the junction point or place of contact between the axone of one neurone and the dendrite of the next neurone. It is believed by many that the synapse offers a certain resistance to the nerve impulse, and that habit formation involves the decreasing of the resistance with each succeeding passage of the impulse over the particular pathway, in fact that impulses tend to follow this pathway rather than another. This is the synaptic theory of habit formation. It has not yet been verified and is of chief interest only to those who are interested in processes rather than in facts about habit.

Laws of Habit Formation.—There are certain theories that apply to habit formation which are so well-established that they may be spoken of as laws of habit formation or laws of learning. They have been named by Thorndike, who is chiefly credited with their formulation, as the laws of *Readiness, Effect,* and *Exercise.* According to his interpretation, the learner approaches the situation with his entire system predisposed in favor of it or against it. When the set of the nervous system and responding mechanisms is in a certain pattern, it is satisfying to the individual to act along the lines of this pattern or to reach the desired end. He therefore tends to favor those reactions which are in harmony with his set. In contrast it is annoying to the individual to fail in the natural fulfillment of the end toward which he is predisposed, and he tends to avoid those reactions which interfere with such a fulfillment. Furthermore it is annoying to be forced to adapt to an end for which he is not already adjusted. The readiness of an individual for a stimulus or a reaction is therefore a determinant in its selection.

As a further condition, "the individual tends to repeat and learn quickly those reactions which are accompanied or followed by a satisfying state of affairs. The individual tends not to repeat or learn quickly those reactions which are accompanied or followed by an annoying state of affairs." [1] The greater the satisfaction produced, the more the tendency is to repeat the association, and, conversely, the greater the annoyance the more will the learner tend to avoid the association. The effect is a determinant of repetition.

As a third consideration, repetition makes for habit formation. The more a certain response is given, the greater the likelihood will be of its becoming a habit. This law of exercise or use is at the base of all drill and practice. The reverse is equally true as stated in the law of disuse, that habits become less potent as repetitions are less frequent.

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[1] A. I. Gates, *Psychology for Students of Education* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923), p. 230.

Use of the Laws of Habit Formation in Learning.—These laws are mutually interdependent in successful learning, and all of them must be taken into account in any learning situation. Before a habit can be really started, mere readiness to perform an act must pass into satisfaction from doing it, and the tendency to avoid must be given an opportunity to be associated with actual annoyance. The experiencing of both annoyance from not doing a certain thing, or doing it incorrectly, and satisfaction from doing it, or doing it well, gives better results than either taken singly.

It is possible for an experience to have such a vivid emotional effect that the habit is immediately set up and ineradicably stamped in behavior without practice. But ordinarily the simple coupling of the experience with pain or pleasure in some form gives no assurance of permanence unless the experience is repeated enough to make a lasting impression.

Mere repetition alone is powerless to fix a habit unless coupled with the right effect. As an illustration of the wrong practice of a good principle the following story is told. A teacher compelled the pupil to stay after school and write "I have gone" one hundred times with a view to correcting his most serious and habitual error. She was convinced that she was thus coupling the wrong form with the annoyance of staying after school and that the many repetitions would result in fixing the habit of the correct form. As a matter of fact the more immediate association to the pupil was that between the right form and staying after school, and the greater the number of repetitions the more the annoyance was impressed. It is no wonder that when he had completed his task, the teacher having stepped out of the room, he wrote below the last "I have gone" the statement, "Dear Teacher, I have went home."

An act of learning takes place only when the individual is stimulated and directed to it, or, in other words, when he is *motivated.* The inertia which characterizes all organisms tends to make them satisfied with present behavior unless some element is introduced into their experience which makes them dissatisfied. In order that they may regain the state of satisfaction they make definite and sometimes extreme efforts at adaptation until the end is reached. This process is learning. Whether dealing with individuals or groups it is desirable to stimulate all tendencies to right action and to inhibit all those which interfere with right action.

Readiness is the product of inborn tendencies, whether these are common to all or are traits peculiar to the individual, and of habits. One is predisposed toward a certain physical or mental activity, or against it, by virtue of all his past experience. Every experience modifies the state of readiness to some degree, depending upon the resultant effects. In order to secure most efficient learning, the learner should have the proper environment, the right bodily and mental condition, tasks or activities that are deemed worth while, and a suitable and promising goal. The boy who steals or cheats may usually be easily cured if social pressure and disapproval of his fellows is brought to bear on him. It is necessary however to do more than couple annoyance such as this with anti-social conduct. Right action must be accompanied with satisfaction, such as comes through approval of one's equals or superiors or other social sanction. If an individual resists his group in doing a right act he may get satisfaction through self-approval, but this should be strengthened through commendation for his courage by those whose approval he craves. The consequences of good social conduct should bring a feeling of permanent satisfaction. Only in this way can the tendency to do right be strengthened and made habitual.

As a rule the need for punishment arises from a failure to understand the child's impulses and his forms of reasoning.

Punishment should be for the benefit of the one punished and his further development, and not for the relief and comfort of the one doing the punishing. If it must be made use of, every effort should be made to avoid producing fears, hatreds, estrangements, and antagonisms that are in every way as greatly or even more detrimental than the original offense. At all times the individual's intelligence and responsibility, his condition at the time of the offense, his social-moral development, his attitudes, and his individual peculiarities should be taken into account.

THE BREAKING OF HABITS.—Every act, thought, and feeling is, as far as we know, permanently registered in the nervous system. Habits cannot be broken, in the sense that all traces of them are wiped out. There is always the possibility of recurrence. In a very real and practical sense, however, habits are broken. This is accomplished by developing another habit in place of the old one. A substitute reaction is built up. This will function as long as it remains stronger than the old habit tendency. In order that the new habit may persist it must be exercised as well as produce a satisfying effect. If it becomes annoying its strength will be reduced until the old habit is reinstated. The wrong habit must die through neglect. Consequently the attention must be centered upon the new habit which is to be formed rather than upon the one which is to be discarded.

TRANSFER OF TRAINING.—Many have assumed that a habit learned in one situation will carry over into *all other situations* of life. According to this view a youth who acquires the habit of attentive study in geometry will, as a result, give better attention to the study of history, or to a sermon. Thorndike [2] pointed out the fallacy and absurdity involved in this argument, and showed that no such transfer may be expected unless there are "identical elements" in the two situations, either as to subject matter, methods, attitudes, or environment. Experiments have substantiated this statement. Judd[3] and others have clarified the thought on this subject by the "theory of generalization," by which it is shown that no general habit is established unless many specific habits are combined and extended into a general ideal covering all situations. Attitudes are basic. A boy may be given a thorough course of training in a military school with no permanent resultant effect on posture, bearing, obedience, or general behavior, because he has not been in sympathy with the training and has not been coöperating with the authorities in relation to it. In fact, the whole experience may have been associated with extreme annoyance. The child may be guided into habits of courtesy in relation to his parents, his teachers and pastor, but unless he is directed to the conscious adoption of courtesy as a general ideal there is no assurance that his manner toward other associates will be improved by his training.

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[2] E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology* (Bureau of Publications of Teachers College, Columbia University), Vol. 2: pp. 358–9.

THE CURVE OF LEARNING.—Scientific researches have been made in the acquisition of habits and skills in various fields such as telegraphy, typewriting, juggling of balls, tracing of figures as seen in a mirror, throwing darts, and so on. Among the important results of these studies has been the plotting and analysis of "practice curves," or curves of learning. A typical curve of sensori-motor learning is here shown. (Fig. 9.) Several important characteristics of most practice curves should be noted.

The curve shows an initial rapid rise which means that progress in learning is relatively fast at the outset. This may be due to the simplicity of the task, the interest of a learner in a new undertaking, or to the fact that many of the basic elements are already known.

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[3] C. H. Judd, *Psychology of High-School Subjects* (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1915), pp. 412–414.

The upward trend of the curve is not steady, but is rather irregular. The performance for one practice period may be poorer than for the one preceding. Attentive power does not remain constant. Health, fatigue, interests, distractions, and other factors vary greatly from moment to moment and from day to day.

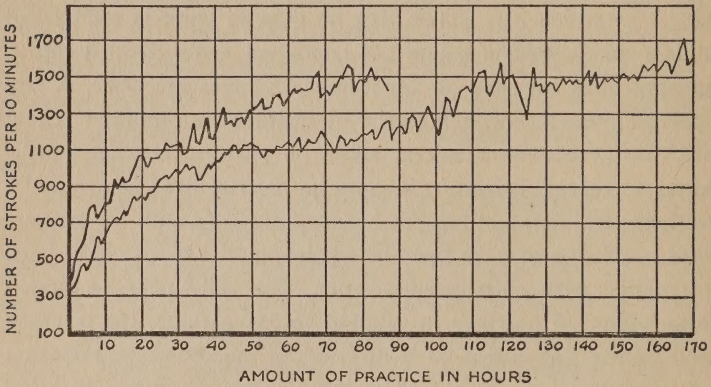

FIG. 9

Learning Curves

(From *Learning to Typewrite,* by William F. Book. Adapted and used by permission of the publisher, The Gregg Publishing Company.)

In one or more places the curve may show a trend to the horizontal for several practices, giving evidence of little or no progress. These places are called plateaus. Some psychologists believe that plateaus are quite inevitable and essential in all learning as they are thought to represent a period in which elements of the tasks already learned are being assimilated and made automatic. Others attribute them to a loss of interest and purpose, fatigue, and insufficient mastery of the elementary habits. According to this view, plateaus may be largely, if not entirely eliminated by proper stimulation, encouragement, and guidance. Plateau periods are very discouraging to the learner and consequently they should be prevented or abbreviated as much as possible.

As the curve approaches its highest point it flattens out, showing less gain from succeeding practices. This may be due to fatigue, or boredom in some cases, but usually it may be explained by the fact that the learner is reaching the upper limit of his ability.

Sooner or later the learner reaches the "threshold" beyond which the process becomes automatic. If not continued to this point the learning gives little assurance of permanence. If the learning process ceases, forgetting immediately begins, and this is ordinarily more rapid in the early stages than later. If one would keep at a certain level of mastery he must arrange for rather frequent reviews of material and practice at first. The reviews may be more widely spaced as time goes on.

Practical Suggestions.—It cannot be assumed that a habit has been formed or even that it will be formed when the methods of performing a task have been memorized. General ideas or ideals may aid in the formation of specific habits, but they do not assure these habits. We learn only by actually carrying on the activity. Knowing what to do, but not doing it, does not merely leave one the same as before, but initiates a habit of inactivity.

In the formation of habits in oneself or others adequate motives should be sought, so that the practice may be pursued with one's whole "heart." The desired habit should be associated with pleasant results without exception, and occasions should be sought for frequent practice, no wrong practice being tolerated at any time. For some, satisfaction must be found immediately in some concrete good, in immediate relation to the act. The animal trainer finds it advisable to provide food and kindness. The child, and those with immature minds, cannot be satisfied by abstract or future goods, as in the case with adults. What will give actual pleasure to the learner must be known and used as an incentive. The teacher or guide often makes the mistake of using incentives which he esteems highly but which have no appeal for the particular individual child.

Attention should be definitely centered on a specific goal. Diffused attention tends toward a scattering of energies, for the direction of attention determines the trend of behavior. As a consequence no progress is made. Attention must be given to habits of emotional experience and thinking as well as muscular behavior, for these are most vital in determining one's relation with his fellows.

The individual generally becomes less plastic with age. Habits which determine destinies are fixed comparatively early in life. It is much more difficult to substitute good habits for bad ones that have already formed than to incorporate good habits in the child from the beginning. It has been stated and too commonly accepted that one does not change after the age of thirty or forty. While this may sometimes be true of certain individuals, it is not necessarily true, for one may and should form the habit of taking on desirable new habits.

The learner needs careful guidance in order that he may have a clear idea of what is to be done, and avoid wasting time and effort. The teacher should not take too much into his own hands, however, as the actual learning must be carried on by the learner himself. Habits cannot be forced on him, but must naturally develop in terms of his own experiences and in harmony with his desires.

The individual differences of the learners should be kept in mind. Such factors as intelligence, health, stage of growth, and interests vary greatly with different individuals and determine the type of habit which is to be formed as well as the rate of progress in learning. The religious life is the product of certain learned concepts, emotional associations and activities, and so is subject to the laws and principles of learning.

Questions and Exercises

1. List activities of a simple nature which you do that had to be learned and which may be properly spoken of as habits. Note certain of these which were formed unconsciously and others which were deliberately learned.
2. Which is the more correct statement— "The man possesses a habit," or "A habit possesses the man"?
3. List as many maxims as you can that point to the importance of fixing correct habits in early childhood.
4. Apply the law of effect to the performance of some specific task which you are called on to do. Trace the influence of effect on some learning that you have done, such as learning to speak in public, learning of some game, or getting the habit of attendance at religious service.
5. Explain this statement: Reflex actions and instinctive tendencies are the stuff out of which habits are formed.
6. Cite instances of the breaking of habits and make a psychological analysis of the causes at work in producing the change. Note cases where habits, apparently broken, have reappeared.
7. What should be the first task of a teacher in leading a group to adopt some new habit or skill or line of thought?
8. Apply the laws of habit formation to religious experience. To moral conduct.
9. Under what conditions may repetition of an act be effective in breaking a habit of doing it?

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CHAPTER VIII

INSTINCTIVE TENDENCIES

All our progress is an unfolding like the vegetable bud. You have first an instinct, then an opinion, then a knowledge, as the plant has root, bud, and fruit.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

WHAT IS INBORN?—In addition to the intricate bodily structure which man possesses, the foregoing pages have described briefly some of the complex types of behavior which characterize him. The existence of such activities leads to the question, Are these responses inborn or are they acquired? The answer to this inquiry is not easily nor certainly given. Since the behavior is dependent upon the neural structure, the inquiry resolves itself into this form, To what an extent is the entire neural mechanism predetermined in the germ cell?

An interesting analogous inquiry is often made in the field of botany: How much of the oak tree that is to be is in the acorn from which it will develop? It is evident that the first tender shoots of the oak actually unfold from minute centers in the seed, but it would be absurd to state that the entire tree, every branch, twig, leaf, and vein, exists in miniature in the acorn. There is some mysterious potency in the seed that predetermines, not merely the particular genus, species, and sub-species of the tree, together with the corresponding qualities which belong to the species; but also its power of adaptation and response to nourishment and to other environmental factors. There are many specific characteristics of the tree, however, such as size, form, number of leaves, and fruitfulness, which are contingent on nourishment, moisture, climate, nearness of other trees, and cultivation.

In much the same way certain functions of the human organism are innate while others are certainly dependent upon incidental influences after birth. Only those forms of behavior which are not at all dependent upon learning may properly be termed instinctive. The behavior of man is so complex that it is practically impossible to analyze it in detail and to select from the total all of those forms of behavior which are instinctive as distinct from those which are learned. The ability to read is manifestly acquired through years of training and practice, but exactly what capacities and tendencies were innate so as to make reading and learning to read possible is not so clear.

METHODS OF STUDY.—A helpful criterion of instinctive behavior is found in the statement that only those characteristics which are universal in the normal members of the human race are instinctive. Peoples with widely variant cultures, and with nothing common in their body of learning have been found to evidence certain basic types of behavior in common. Anthropology and ethnology have thus thrown a great deal of light on the problem.

Child study has also been of great assistance, especially with recently improved techniques. The adult, fully aware of his own major activities, and also of the ends which have been achieved by them, may work out a system by which instincts are classified in great number and detail. As a matter of fact he errs in assuming that he is able to remember and identify all of those tendencies which were learned, as distinguished from those which were really instinctive. A careful study of the young child and its actual reactions with a view to an analysis of learning factors and their influence is the method that promises to do much toward solving the problem.

The Composition of Early Behavior.—The study of the child in its development from birth shows a fairly steady increase in complexity of behavior. There are certain reactions which are existent at birth. These are comparatively simple reflex activities. Other forms of behavior appear later. These are found to be either (1) derived from a combination of the basic reflexes, or (2) initiated at a period when the physical organism has developed to a degree such as makes the activity possible and when need for such activity arises. The former of these make up the entire range of habits which are by their nature conditioned reflexes, elaborated through countless associations. The latter may depend for their expression on some of these habits, but may be considered instinctive in the sense that it is the natural tendency of the child to behave in this way when his entire physical structure is adequately developed.

The new-born babe cannot walk. He does however possess the inborn tendency to activity and many motor reflexes. Through exercise under definite conditions these reflexes are coördinated and the involved muscles are strengthened. At length the inherent tendency to walk is able to find expression when the need for going somewhere arises. The child has a readiness to act in this way which is evidently predetermined in the germ cell. To what an extent the tendency is influenced by imitation is not certain. It is possible that the tendency is facilitated by seeing others walk, although it is certainly not thereby determined. The child does not suddenly begin to walk perfectly. The tendency to walk acts only as a form of motivation; the actual walking is attained through learning, from the first uncertain steps to the final perfected skill. The so called "instincts" are thus seen to be mingled with habits, limited by habits, and determined as to specific form of expression by habits.

The Classification of Instinctive Tendencies.—It is this uncertainty as to the extent to which learned and unlearned behavior enters into any specific act or series of related acts that makes it somewhat dogmatic, and consequently unwise, to list certain acts as instincts and to classify them in detail. The safer procedure seems to be to recognize all complex behavior as derivative from instinctive reflexes, with a background of instinctive tendencies acting as a center of motivation. Acts which depend chiefly for their initiation as well as their perpetuation on such factors may be called instinctive acts, although it should be recognized that they are greatly subject to modification through experience. Any classification must be somewhat arbitrary and based upon ends actually achieved by the acts rather than on any absolute inherent differentiation of a strict psychological character.

Native tendencies may be analyzed in each of the three major fields of behavior: motor, glandular, and neural. The reflex motor activities have been noted. It is possible that certain of these reflex acts are chained together into certain integrated patterns at birth. The mechanism and functions of the glands, both duct and ductless, are well advanced at birth. Certain of the emotions are native in the sense that they show themselves in some form of behavior soon after birth. Fear, anger, and love have been thus discovered to be elemental. The neural mechanisms are normally operative at birth so as to give capacities for receiving sensations and setting up complex associations.

As a matter of fact, every reaction may involve the entire organism: sense organs, muscles, glands, and varied neural pathways. Neither the bodily condition nor the environment which together make up the total situation are ever twice alike. Therefore the responses are not constant or identical. Granted that there is an instinctive tendency to escape unpleasant situations or to be afraid, the actual fear expression has as many different forms as there are situations. As conditions change the reactions are always new in the sense that the peculiar combination of behavior never occurred before.

McDougall and others have attempted to classify instincts on the basis of the emotions which chiefly characterize them, but this cannot be done satisfactorily in view of the fact that the same emotion may be found as a dominant trait of varied activities, or diverse emotions may under various conditions be found present in the same general activity. Seldom does any complex of behavior evidence any single emotion to any exclusive degree, and all so-called instincts are very complex.

It is common practice to speak of good instincts and bad instincts. There is, however, no such natural distinction. All of the instinctive tendencies are requisite to the normal functioning of the human organism, and consequently may be considered good. Any of them, when carried to such an extreme as not to be subject to ordinary controls, may become a menace. One whose reactions in any one or more forms of instinctive behavior are lacking or weak is to that extent abnormal.

Important Instinctive Tendencies.—Although there is much disagreement as to exactly what tendencies are truly instinctive and also the exact differentiation of these tendencies a few of the more significant ones are here noted. All of them are apparently common to the human race, and none is dependent upon learning for its initiation, however varied may be the forms which they take as a result of learning. It cannot be claimed that they are mutually exclusive or strictly elementary.

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

The new-born babe is intensely active. Random movements of arms and legs, twisting of facial muscles, and crying are characteristic activities. Soon the child vocalizes freely, at first making spontaneous babbling noises, but later beginning the process of learning through imitation, leading to the mastery of a language. Although all motor behavior is readily altered by experiences, the tendency to spontaneous activity remains as a basic characteristic throughout waking life. It underlies all of the truly expressive and creative forms of behavior. Individuals differ widely in the extent to which they manifest this tendency, as well as in the particular forms that it takes. Some take readily to hand work, while others tend toward speech activity, depending upon native capacities or early training.

Play is a form of spontaneous activity; sometimes called the play instinct. Although rooted deeply in original nature the tendency is greatly modified, developed, or restrained by experience. Play itself serves different purposes at different times and under different conditions in the life of an individual. If given proper expression and guidance, play may be made a highly significant factor in the socialization of the individual, and in the development of desirable moral and intellectual qualities, as well as the building of strength and health of body.

Physical activity may become constructive or destructive, depending upon training. There is no natural instinct toward either of these ends. The tendency to manipulate objects may be utilized to great advantage. Professor Feeney of Miami University relates the incident that occurred when he was teaching in a technical high school. Two boys were sent to him after they had utterly failed in the regular high-school course. The activities of the new school appealed to them, for they here had an opportunity to do work with their hands and to make plans and drawings. Today these two are among the most successful architects in their section of the country. Contact with a great teacher was doubtless a large factor in their success, but in addition the boys had a strong instinctive drive toward manipulation which found expression in a very useful way in the technical school.

GREGARIOUSNESS

By this term is meant the desire and tendency to associate with others. This implies, not merely the membership in society as a whole, but the joining with special institutional, social, and political assemblies, or with groups within these groups. It involves also the tendency to select special friends or chums. Being cast away on a desert isle far from human associates may be considered very romantic in imagination. In reality such isolation is the worst conceivable sort of torture. Prisoners prefer death to any long-extended period of solitary confinement. Those who are forced to live their lives for long periods in isolation become "queer" and carry on imaginary conversations to the limit of insanity. Those who prefer complete separation from humanity are abnormal.

Human groups may be temporary or permanent. Examples of the former are the gang,[1] called meetings, the crowd or mob. Permanent groups include the family, neighborhood groups, school, church, fraternal organizations, and racial, political, or work groups.

In any such association the individual may become either leader or follower. In the majority of cases he becomes more or less identified with the group so as to lose his individuality. He submerges his own personal desires to the will of the group, takes pride in work accomplished by common efforts, and evidences a strong sense of loyalty.

In union there is strength. The individual is often attracted to the group because he recognizes it as a medium of expression with which he is in harmony but which he feels himself powerless to convey alone. It is commonly recognized that ten people who are thoroughly unified and harmoniously and enthusiastically working together can accomplish much more than ten who are working separately. Concentration of effort is effective. Whether this is to be for individual and social good or evil is determined by the particular direction given to the group activity. The highly destructive and criminally minded gang may be modified into a socially productive club under wise guidance and control.

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[1] Frederick Thrasher, *The Gang* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927).

DESIRE FOR SOCIAL APPROVAL

The basic tendency to seek pleasantness and to avoid unpleasantness has been noted. The approval of one's fellows has been found a universal and peculiarly satisfying experience, as their disapproval is extremely annoying. The young child cares for and seeks the approbation of parents and teachers as well as associates, and the adult tends to adapt himself to the customs and ideals of the group with which he is affiliated, or to do something which will win praise or reward from his fellowmen. The form which the tendency takes and its strength depend greatly upon habits derived through experience. Display, boastfulness, pride, ambition, and similar acts and attitudes spring from the general basic instinctive trend.

Properly directed, the tendency may be used as a center of motivation looking to the higher development of both the individual and society. It may be exaggerated to such a degree as to prevent originality in behavior. In this case it may act as a deterrent of progress, since the beginnings of most progressive movements are found in a relatively small minority of the population and are therefore relatively unpopular. There is much virtue in the heroic call, "Dare to be a Daniel, dare to stand alone." It is very difficult to induce an individual to act counter to what he knows is the will of his social group whose ridicule or disapproval he fears. The willingness of anyone to defy society, however heroically, is in itself no adequate test of the truth or value of his cause.

RIVALRY AND COMPETITION

Man finds satisfaction, not only in being with others and adapting his behavior to their ideals, but also in outdoing his fellows in some undertaking. This is apparently a form of display since greater praise is won when competition is overcome. The more intense the rivalry the more is the victory esteemed. Competition is at the very heart of business and general economic life, with both individuals and nations. Children exhibit the tendency at a very early age and schools make use of it in all sorts of learning situations. Games and sports emphasize it. Professional advancement is often attended by the spirit of keen rivalry. We live in a competitive society. Carlyle compared mankind to "a pitcher-full of tamed vipers, each trying to get its head above the others."

A strong mark of individual progress is found in the trend toward rivalry on the higher levels of intellectual and social-moral endeavor rather than confining it to the physical and economic fields alone. Group competition of a wholesome kind is superior to individual rivalry, since here a social consciousness is recognized. An individual may develop the attitude and habit of competing with his own past records and derive much satisfaction from excelling these. Such rivalry should be encouraged if the objective is worth while.

Allied with the tendencies to win approval and to compete are those known as self-assertion and mastery. Every leader must be an *egotist* in the sense of having a definite confidence in his own mastery of a situation. Only extreme egotism is objectionable. Whether such tendencies shall be *egoistic* (self-centered) in the sense that they are developed to the interests of the individual rather than the social good, depends upon the direction given to them. Patriotism is a national attitude which finds its strength in these tendencies. If the slogan of any country or people is one that proclaims, "Our interests must be first in only material, economic, and military aspects, at any cost and by any means at our disposal," patriotism may become a vice, since it is self-centered rather than social. On the other hand the ambition of a country to be first in humanitarianism, education, science, social service, and ideals must be recognized as a tendency which should be fostered.

FIGHTING

The tendency to come to open combat is commonly spoken of as an instinct. As a matter of fact, it is probably a combination of other instinctive tendencies. Physical activity is used in a particular way to enforce the rivalry tendency or to further insure self-protection when one is attacked. It may be aggressive or defensive. Since the tendency to fight is occasionally very useful and indeed vital to one's welfare or the welfare of others, it should not be altogether deplored.

War is regarded by some as the result of man's natural pugnacity. It cannot be so simply stated, however. As a rule the majority of individuals have a strong aversion for organized fighting and slaughter of their fellow-men, and can be persuaded to join in the undertaking only under extreme natural provocation or with the greatest efforts at stimulation. The real causes of aggressive war are not such as to arouse the fighting tendency, hence immediate occasions or excuses are staged which will provide incentives. Modern warfare is widely different from hand-to-hand combat. Educational ideals, leadership, and training establish national attitudes and habits tending to oppose war or to foster it.

KINDLINESS AND SYMPATHY

If man possessed only those tendencies which are selfish and aggressively competitive, there could be no pleasure except that produced by another's misery and defeat. But he also has tendencies making mutual aid and understanding possible. These exist in all degrees from simple attention to the needs of others or satisfaction in another's happiness, to most elaborate provisions along philanthropic lines. One who does not possess these tendencies is recognized as a pervert.

By the etymology of the word "sympathy" (feeling with) one learns that actual sympathy for another cannot be had unless first one has had experiences which tend to evoke the same feelings. One who has always been well-to-do cannot possibly conceive what is meant by poverty even though he may witness it. Sympathy is therefore modified greatly by environment and is subject to habit formation. These tendencies may go to extremes or be misdirected as is the case with all other instinctive tendencies, and thus prove a menace to social welfare.

SELF-ABASEMENT

Self-abasement is probably a phase of the general tendency to self-protection, especially of what is sometimes called the flight instinct. It is a tendency to humble oneself in the presence of one who is recognized as stronger, with authority and power of some kind. In its ordinary form it is characterized by submission, willing obedience, and resignation. In its more extreme forms it may involve the cowering, degrading attitudes of the sycophant. One may recognize his own unworthiness or inadequacy in certain particulars without cringing or surrendering the dignity of his own personality.

CURIOSITY

Inquisitiveness is recognized as a basic tendency arising largely through the individual's readiness to perceive, coupled with physical activity, notably manipulation. The curiosity of young children is well known, not only in the asking of questions, but also in their tendency to investigate any object coming within their field of observation. It is probable that one would never be curious if he were already satisfied. A vague sense of need is a sufficient incentive of curiosity, for it is possible that this thing that is unknown may hold the key to all future happiness. Therefore the quest goes on. Since this tendency is basic to the accumulation of knowledge it should be encouraged as far as possible without making the individual a nuisance to others, and should be directed along profitable lines.

ACQUISITIVE TENDENCIES

The inclination to ownership exists to some degree in all. It expresses itself in various ways and relative to various objects, but at base shows the tendency to possession. This may be a mere passive acceptance of what is given, but usually takes the aggressive form. The young child naturally tends to carry off any object that appeals to his fancy, regardless of any inherent value it may possess. He is neither honest nor dishonest. He merely has not yet learned the elaborate system of property rights and methods of exchange which society has found it necessary to set up in the face of this tendency. Honesty is usually learned during the early years of life, first in the form of specific habits and later as a governing ideal or general habit.

Some children are foredoomed to lives of crime because of the lack of early training, or because they are trained to steal by their parents or associates. Mental disability prevents some from learning the lessons regarding the wrongness of theft, or from grasping the abstract ideal of honesty. Others who are normal in every other way have the tendency to possess to such a strong degree that the best of training is powerless to prevent or to overcome thievery. These are called *kleptomaniacs.*

The tendency to accumulate goods is very pervasive in our modern complex society, often interfering with the real business of living. Wealth is power, and thus the tendencies to self-assertion and mastery naturally act as incentives to its accumulation. Rivalry and competition are employed in the process. The tendency to kindliness and sympathy is often lost sight of in the zest of the undertaking.

The tendency to collect may exist as an activity engaged in for its own sake, rather than for the accumulation of "goods." In this form it may be likened to the hunting tendency and is subject to endless modification. This tendency may serve highly useful purposes, as in cultural advancement and education, especially when the use and organization of the material receive adequate direction and emphasis.

Constructive work in relation to the acquisitive tendencies must emphasize general ideals. These will stress among other things the folly of trying to get something for nothing, the injustice of taking advantage of anyone else, the unsatisfying character of possessions not rightly earned, the comparative value of immaterial and material goods, the fact that possessions in common are often worth more than those purely individual, and the interdependence of members of society.

SEX TENDENCIES

Sex gratification is probably one of the strongest instinctive tendencies possessed by the human race. Although racial in its ends, since it has to do primarily with the propagation of the race, it is immediately personal. In general the end is accomplished without the deliberate intent of the individual. In common with most other instincts, it may come to be valued for its own sake and be entirely divorced from the primary purpose for which it exists.

The sex instinct is in reality a complex of many tendencies. In its fully developed forms it involves most other tendencies which have been noted, such as gregariousness, desire for approval, rivalry and competition, kindliness and sympathy, curiosity, and acquisitive tendencies. Furthermore it is greatly subject to modification of expression through habit formation. It has a physical basis in various reflexes and autonomic functions, especially relative to the ductless glands. In the earlier years there are many preparatory reactions showing the presence of the immature tendency. With the age of puberty the physical system comes to such a stage of maturity as to make procreation possible. The tendency now becomes of great social significance, and is so dominant as to make it necessary for civilized society to place elaborate checks and controls upon it.

Because the tendency is accompanied with very strong emotions, it plays a very prominent part in the conscious as well as unconscious activity of every normal individual. Sex hunger is practically universal, at least to some degree, although marked individual differences in the strength of the tendency are apparent. In some cases these differences may be traced to native or inborn predisposition, in others to learning. Either control or lack of control may be learned. Marked abnormalities in the expression of the tendency are common. Much unhappiness and maladjustment is traceable to abnormal types of behavior, unsatisfied cravings, wrong attitudes, and inadequate methods of control.

Methods of attempted control for the most part exhibit blind trial and error. Legal controls alone are found ineffective and superficial. A common means has been to regard the tendency as an essential evil, in itself disgraceful and even shameful. This has resulted in a secretive attitude and a reserve regarding all matters of sex, which have made it extremely difficult either to secure accurate data regarding sex tendencies, or to impart correct information and ideals. From a psychological point of view it appears that education regarding sex, given in an appropriate way from early years, is the only certain method of building up in the individual the attitudes and habits of control which are essential to an adequate regulation. The exact content and method of such education remains to be worked out, and should engage the best efforts of all educational leaders, medical authorities, and social workers.

It is clear that such education must frankly tell the story of life in a natural and sympathetic way. There should be neither an air of secrecy nor of undue exaggeration. The natural wholesomeness of the sex tendency should be made clear, and the individual responsibility for keeping it wholesome emphasized. The need for social control and the reasons why the individual should take pride in personal control should be rationally presented. The fullest confidence should be built up between the teacher and the child. It is probable that no special course should be given in sex, since this would tend to give it an undue prominence, but it should be taken up incidentally, though systematically, in connection with other learning. There should be an idealization of the whole sex experience, with the aim of showing the related virtues of tenderness and responsibility for the happiness of others over against selfish gratification. It should be shown that the sex impulse may be made to contribute largely to creative work as in art, music, and literature.

MISCELLANEOUS TENDENCIES

Imitation has already been noted as an inherent form of behavior. No plan of education is complete that neglects this tendency, and no social order can ignore its consequences. The child comes into the world with a nervous system that is ready to act, sense organs that are ready to receive stimuli, neurones in the cortex that are ready to give sensations, patterns of associations which are ready to integrate all experiences of impression and conduct. Mental capacity and activity are involved to a great extent as correlates of the general physical activity. Food-getting, finding of shelter, care of progeny and family life might be taken up in some detail. Native emotional reactions and inborn capacities will be considered in later chapters. Enough tendencies have been noted, however, to make clear the complexity and the potency of some of the urges that are fundamental to behavior.

Modification of Instinctive Tendencies.—The native tendencies, whether fully operative at birth or delayed, serve admirably the needs for self-perpetuation and continuity of the race in a primitive society. Now that a highly complex civilization has been built up, the individual is faced with the necessity of adapting the primitive tendencies to modern needs. Herein lies the difficult yet vital problem of all education. It is somewhat analogous to that of controlling the flow of the Mississippi River. Much may be done by controlling and directing the flow of the myriad sources while they are yet comparatively small, but in the lower reaches of the river, after all auxiliary streams have contributed their parts, the task of control is stupendous, if not impossible.

None of the tendencies is good or bad in itself. Any one of them may become a menace or a blessing to the individual or to society. None of the tendencies can be completely eliminated.

Attempts at complete suppression are unnatural, ineffective, and unnecessary. Some of them must be encouraged, others must be modified or redirected, according to individual needs.

The expression of a tendency may be strengthened or weakened by applying the laws of habit formation. A youth who is slow in adjusting himself socially may be provided with satisfying opportunities to become associated with social groups. Too marked a tendency, as in the case of ownership and acquisitiveness, may be discouraged by uniformly coupling annoying results with it on all occasions, until an attitude of control is built up. The child who is quarrelsome and overbearing may be changed for the better by the disapproval of the members of the group. Much wisdom is demanded of those who thus attempt to guide. Punishment of a child by a teacher may result in making him a hero in the eyes of the school group with consequent bad results in conduct. Wide newspaper publicity of criminal acts and actors is likely to associate pleasant results with criminal activity and even the pathway to the electric chair may be a path of glory not to be held in contempt. Positive emphasis, or coupling good behavior with pleasant results, is generally more effective than negative methods, as in punishment.

Positive methods may take the form of *substitution.* By this means a desirable response is made to take the place of an undesirable one, and is then strengthened until it becomes habitual. The members of a gang, preying on society and destructive of property, may be led to carry on group activities in accord with public welfare. *Sublimation* is a form of substitution in which ideas, attitudes, and ideals of an individual are changed so that the tendency finds expression in other forms. Thus one may learn to fight with logical thought and energetic behavior for valued ideals, rather than with fists, for personal mastery of another. One may direct unsatisfied cravings for love and family life into channels of philanthropic service.

Permanent changes such as those here indicated cannot be made overnight. They will result only from painstaking, careful, and consistent efforts through a comparatively long period. The change will often be so gradual as to be imperceptible. In some cases of great emotional stress a tendency may suddenly be greatly modified, but this is the exception rather than the rule. Even then there is no assurance of permanence without careful direction in subsequent experiences. The younger the child the more easily are the new and desirable organizations of habit formed, for then the tendency has not been reënforced as is later the case.

The Use of Instinctive Tendencies.—Some have indicated the instinctive tendencies as the only drives and fountains of conduct, and have urged the adaptation of all life purposes to a harmonious agreement with them. This view is probably an exaggeration since it does not allow sufficiently for the function of habit. Habitual lines of behavior which have only a distant and indirect relation to instinctive tendencies act as dominant drives to conduct. Furthermore the instincts, as we know them, are already greatly modified and are subject to further modification.

Thus considered, however, the instinctive tendencies provide a potent basis of appeals. The individual can be motivated into any line of conduct only to the extent that certain of these inherent bents and types of habitual behavior are made use of. The conditioning of one tendency can be effected only through bringing other tendencies to play in reënforcing or inhibiting it. He who best understands human nature is most able to control the behavior of others, whether in securing a record attendance at a prize fight, in arousing widespread and urgent desires for certain merchandize, in stimulating church attendance, or in any of the multifarious activities in which human beings may engage.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is there any psychological basis for the doctrine of original sin?
2. How would you explain the fact that one comes to feel an affection for a home, a cause, or a person to whom one gives a great deal in effort or money?
3. Would a normal child learn to speak the language of his people if deprived of any opportunity of hearing others use it?
4. Analyze the following groups as to the instinctive appeals which they have in attracting members: a forum, a music club, a tennis club, a commercial club, a teachers' association, and other groups.
5. Compare the instinctive tendencies made use of by a clergyman and the manager of an amusement enterprise in their appeal to the public.
6. Show how the tendency to kindness may become injurious rather than helpful.
7. Great suffering is commonly supposed to impart a certain valuable quality to the voice of a singer. What would this be, and why might it seem true?
8. Why is it that the "spirit of an age" may be unfavorable to reform? Need one feel powerless in the face of such a condition?
9. Do you consider it likely that great moral and religious leaders such as Socrates, Elijah, Loyola, and Wesley were egotistic in the best sense of the term? Were they egoistic?
10. Point out ways in which modern warfare is different from personal fighting.

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CHAPTER IX

FEELINGS AND EMOTIONS

Our feelings were given us to excite to action, and when they end in themselves, they are cherished to no good purpose.

BISHOP SANDFORD

THE AFFECTIVE STATES.—Mental states which are characterized by feeling and emotion are called affective states. These play a very important rôle in life. They enter into practically all behavior to some degree, furnishing many dominant motives, interests, enthusiasms and standards of value. All associations are colored by them. All degrees of happiness and unhappiness are bound up with them. They permeate all human relationships.

Popular terminology does not differentiate feelings and emotions. The terms are commonly used interchangeably with a good deal of resultant confusion. Psychology undertakes the task of refining the definitions.

NATURE OF FEELING.—Feeling should not be confused with the sensation of touch or pressure. It is the awareness of pleasantness or unpleasantness that accompanies every type of behavior. Every sensation, idea, or motor reaction has its feeling aspect. Feeling must be clearly distinguished, however, from sensations, images, and concepts. It is not in itself a sensation, for there is no known sense organ for feeling, nor may any of the feelings be referred to any particular area of the cerebral cortex. Pleasantness or unpleasantness may result from the stimulation of any of the sense organs. One color may be found pleasant, while another will be found unpleasant. A moderate degree of warmth will be pleasant while an extreme warmth will be the reverse. Unlike sensations, the feelings may be evoked indirectly by cortical activity in a conscious state, such as an image. The thought of a snake is accompanied by disagreeable feelings through the force of certain associations which have been made, either through experience with snakes, or through contact with those who have had such experiences. Feelings cannot be referred to the object in the external world, but are always personal. Two individuals will have different feelings when facing the same situation. They appear to pervade the entire organism and to be associated with general bodily reactions. Thus one feels the aversion to a snake to his finger tips.

THEORIES OF FEELING.—While there are many theories of feeling, two rather distinct points of view are noteworthy. According to the one view, feelings of pleasantness or unpleasantness are assignable to the readiness or the unreadiness of neurones to act, as detailed in a preceding chapter (pp. 85–87). Fulfilment of a prepotent behavior pattern gives satisfaction, while failure to act or being forced to act in a way not in harmony with this pattern results in annoyance. According to this view, sensations which are in harmony with the needs of the body at the time are recognized as pleasant, while those which are in conflict with such needs are felt as unpleasant. The bodily state at the moment is the determinant of whether the feeling will be the one or the other.

Feelings are thus conceived of as relative. Pain is a sensation which is usually unpleasant since it is symptomatic of some disorder in the bodily processes tending to the tearing down of bodily tissues. But pain itself is relative and in many situations may, paradoxically, be pleasant. A severe burn may thus be apprehended as an agreeable experience, somewhat of a relief, when one is suffering from toothache. One may enjoy a period of physical suffering in anticipation of the satisfaction which will later come in telling others about it. Sourness or warmth may be very unpleasant at one time and pleasant at another time.

The degree of feeling which one has from any experience is likewise determined largely by bodily conditions. The feeling accompaniment of an experience may at one time be mildly pleasant or unpleasant, while at another time the identical experience will result in an extreme of feeling. Food tastes much better when one is ravenously hungry than under ordinary conditions.

The second theory regards feelings as blends of organic sensations. The contrast between pleasantness and unpleasantness is explained as resulting from different organic responses to the same stimulus, depending upon the particular blend of sensation qualities which is made. This theory conceives that any sensation, whether peripheral or organic in type, has a very definite, though slight and complex, organic effect through the medium of the autonomic nervous system.

There is no real disagreement between the theories. Both may be true. Since so little is at present known regarding the nature of neural functioning and inner processes, both may be regarded as unproved, though providing useful and valuable working hypotheses.

SIMPLE AND COMPLEX FEELINGS.—The simple feeling is an abstraction. Pure satisfaction or annoyances is never experienced alone. What is experienced is always an agreeable idea, an annoying memory, an unpleasant emotion, a pleasant reaction, or some other combination. Nevertheless, a very distinct sense of pleasantness or unpleasantness may stand out as the major characteristic of an experience, so that the sensation quality itself, or the idea is neglected in consciousness.

Complex feelings, involving blends of sensations and ideas, as well as a mixture of feelings, are common experience. A person's mental state at any one instant is seldom if ever absolutely neutral as to the feeling element. The balance swings, even though slightly, toward one aspect or the other. Through successive instants the feelings are constantly oscillating, even as the attention shifts, although the general trend may be toward pleasantness or unpleasantness. The state of affectiveness which is continuous throughout waking life, at times very vague, and at other times clear and definite, at times fairly simple and at others very complex, is known as feeling-tone.

Because the feelings are so complex they are very difficult of analysis. It is seldom that one can give an adequate or complete explanation of his feelings. One may be aware of, or give evidence of pleasant or unpleasant feelings without being able to give any reason for their existence. A peculiar combination of circumstances, in themselves failing to make any definite mental impression, may produce a decided affective state of pleasure or displeasure. Moody spells and fits of despondency are often of this type. It is a well-known fact that defective functioning of the liver or digestive organs will cause the whole of one's mental horizon to appear disagreeable.

THE NATURE OF EMOTIONS.—Emotion is a much more inclusive term than feelings. It is the awareness of a complex of sensations, chiefly organic, which are aroused by appropriate stimuli. The emotion itself is a mental state, probably effected by cortical reactions in very much the same way as ordinary sensations. The stimuli which occasion an emotion are probably the functional processes of muscles and glands which are in turn the result of preceding nerve impulses transmitted to these reaction agents.

William James and F. Lange independently proposed this explanation, now commonly accepted and known as the James-Lange Theory of the Emotions. Its statement is in brief: "bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and . . . our awareness of the same changes as they occur, is the emotion."[1] This theory appeared quite revolutionary when it was first proposed, since it was commonly considered that the emotional mental state was in itself the first cause of the bodily states which were known to accompany a strong emotion, rather than a result of these physical conditions.

The emotion does not markedly characterize ordinary normal behavior where everything is going on smoothly, but usually indicates a crisis or emergency of some kind which calls for special adjustments or readjustments. In addition to the special muscular strains and tensions, the endocrine glands act in such a way as to provide supplemental energy and supply special needs of the organism for the occasion. Woodworth's definition points out this phase of emotional life: "An emotion is a conscious, stirred-up state of the organism."[2] This is the explanation of the excitement which usually attends an emotional outburst.

RELATION OF FEELINGS AND EMOTION.—The feeling element is always a marked accompaniment of an emotion. It is, however, no more identical with the emotion than it is identical with the sensation. Feeling is merely a fact about emotion, and incidental to it. Because the emotion is a mental state, a complex of sensations, the feelings are usually much more intense and pervasive than is the case in ordinary simple sensations. The kind or degree of feeling which accompanies a particular emotion is relative to the entire situation and the individual experiencing it, and is therefore not readily predictable. An emotional outburst of anger may be very pleasant to one who experiences it, while to another anger may prove decidedly unpleasant. An individual may derive much satisfaction from such an experience on one occasion, but feel much annoyed by it on another occasion.

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[1] William James, *Psychology* (*Briefer Course*) (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1907), p. 375.

[2] R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1921), p. 118.

The Classification of Feelings and Emotions.—In addition to the classification of feelings into degrees of pleasantness or unpleasantness, they are sometimes classed according to the level of bodily function with which they are associated. On this basis there are (1) sensory feelings which are evoked in direct relation to sensory stimuli, and (2) ideational feelings which arise in response to images and ideas. The latter have to do with associated meanings and logical interpretations and are sometimes spoken of as intellectual or aesthetic. They include the social, moral and religious feelings, and are the result of learning.

There are various ways of classifying emotions. As a result of the study of very young children Watson names three primary emotions; fear, rage, and love from which all others are compounded. Woodworth without special reference to infants, lists as primary emotions: anger, fear, lust, mirth, grief, curiosity, the comfortable state appropriate to digestive processes, and the tender emotions (as of a mother for her babe), and suggests that there may be others.

According to the group of spinal ganglia which is used in effecting associations, three variant groups of emotions are recognized by Gates.[3] 1. Sex emotions of various kinds and degrees aroused through the medium of the sacral ganglia, as modified by the cranial ganglia. 2. Mild states of well-being, inconspicuous, but pleasant and expansive, which arise through the energizing of the sacral and cranial divisions. 3. The strong and best known emotions which depend upon the activity of the sympathetic ganglia. These include (a) anger and other related emotions such as rage, fury, irritation, and possibly jealousy; (b) fear states such as worry, dread, terror and possibly grief; (c) excitement, nervousness and embarrassment; and (d) pity, sympathy and enthusiasm.

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[3] A. I. Gates, *Psychology for Students of Education* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923), pp. 164–9.

As a matter of fact any classification must to a great extent be arbitrary since the emotions are so intimately related and so varied. The entire organism tends to act in any situation, and marked blends of emotional states are the rule.

Accompaniments and Effects of Emotion.—Not only are emotions the results of definite physical reactions to stimuli; they are also accompanied and followed by marked changes throughout the entire organism. The special adjustments which are made are many, and are very pervasive in their effects on function and general behavior.

GLANDULAR CHANGES

Recent investigations by Cannon, Crile, and others show that the secretions of some glands are stimulated during an emotional outburst, while the activity of others is inhibited. Strong emotions such as anger, grief, and terror are characteristically accompanied by an inhibition of glandular processes involved in digestion and excretion. The flow of saliva and the secretion of gastric juices are greatly reduced. The dry mouth and indigestion which follow strong emotions are commonly known. During emotional excitement the adrenal glands pour their extract, adrenalin, into the blood in increased quantities. This affects the action of the liver, increases the assimilative and metabolic processes, and increases the coagulation of the blood when exposed to air, thus hastening the healing of wounds. In some cases toxic substances accumulate in the body. Prolonged emotions increase the activity of the thyroid glands and in turn this tends to favor the continuance of the emotional state.

MUSCULAR CHANGES

The smooth muscles are greatly affected by intense emotion, chiefly as the result of the glandular changes. X-ray investigations show that the peristaltic movements of the stomach and intestines are greatly diminished, or even altogether stopped. The heart action becomes more rapid and the blood-vessels are constricted so that circulation and blood pressure are heightened. The diaphragm is stimulated and breathing is accelerated. The small smooth muscles in the lungs dilate so as to provide a greater capacity, with more oxidation and elimination of fatigue products. All visceral changes during emotion appear to be directed toward a single end; the increase of organic efficiency and the conservation and direction of energy along these lines.

The skeletal muscles also show marked changes. In fact the chief indication to others that an individual is experiencing a strong emotion, in addition to the heightening of color or pallor due to circulation changes, is the presence of muscular activity or tension. Most emotional states may be identified by observing the facial expression, but other physical adaptations increase the effect. In the case of anger the individual has the tendency to clench his teeth, to stick out the lower jaw, to tense the muscles of the neck, to clench his fists, and in other ways to present a fearsome aspect to his adversary. When one is afraid he tends to shrink, to put out his arms to ward off danger, to inhibit all ordinary active and aggressive attitudes, or in case flight is not effected, to take a submissive and pleading position. Pride, surprise, scorn, grief, and joy all have their evident forms of physical expression. As a rule the energy supplied to the muscles is greater than is actually used, and the diffusion of this energy results in trembling. Emotional outbursts are followed by periods of depression of which fatigue is a chief characteristic.

MENTAL EFFECTS

A moderate amount of emotion of the right type is stimulating to mental activity. It is essential to any act of volition, and colors the entire behavior pattern. Interest exists only to the degree that the emotional background is effective, and motivation lies back of all free activity. Such motivation is an aid to concentration, and should be encouraged and rightly directed. On the other hand a strong emotion is almost always distractive to a high degree. The mental life is either thrown into a turmoil in which no single idea predominates, or one particular stands out apart from all other considerations. The individual loses the power of free control of attention. He may be temporarily insane. One is looking forward to an enjoyable occasion, possibly a trip or a party, but finds at the last moment that it cannot take place. He is consequently disappointed and depressed, and finds it impossible to think of anything but the defeat of his expectation. In a violent display of anger, for example, the ordinary restraints and inhibitions of civilized life may give way and for the time being one may revert to the primitive. Impulse dominates.

GENERAL PHYSICAL EFFECTS

Even the mildest of emotional states may produce marked changes in the individual. A long continued emotional condition not only exhausts the bodily energy, but also interferes with the normal bodily processes. Worry over financial affairs may break one's health. Fear of the outcome of a disease with which one is afflicted tends to inhibit those normal body processes which would function to the end of health, if permitted. After a strong emotional experience a long period may ensue before one returns to normal. Profound shocks may leave a permanent imprint on all future behavior. Every affective experience conditions the individual to some extent.

Emotions as Instinctive Tendencies.—Emotions have been noted above as inherent. This is true in the same way as with any other sensory capacity. Because the instinctive tendencies are so closely related to the autonomic functions and are dominant in the organism, they generally have marked emotional accompaniments. All of man's natural cravings, wants, and urges are either associated with emotional states, or apprehended directly as emotional experiences. McDougall's identification of emotions and instincts has already been noted (p. 99).

It is the emotional aspect of the instinctive tendencies that gives them dramatic color, and makes them so difficult to manage or to understand. Simple rivalry in itself is not especially remarkable, but when this rivalry is transmuted by emotion into intense competition involving bitter hatreds, jealousies, and apprehensions, it may become calamitous. The potency of instinctive tendencies as motivating agencies is ascribable to the natural emotional background of these tendencies.

Emotional Balance.—An emotional state may be expressed with all degrees of intensity, from slight stirrings to extreme violence. Individuals differ greatly in this respect. Some appear to have complete emotional control in the sense that nothing seems to disturb the even calm of their behavior. They are equable on all occasions. Others, while exhibiting little emotional excitement within the general range of anger or fear, may be consistently susceptible to joy or lust. Many are very unstable, going to the extremes of emotional expression; at one moment in the depths of despair and at another rising to the heights of rapture; on one occasion showing all the signs of complete devotion, and then suddenly flying into a spasm of rage. These individuals are recognized as undependable and even a menace to social welfare.

Distrust of Emotions.—Because of the commonly unpleasant mental and bodily effects of emotions, their close affiliation with harmful instinctive tendencies, and the way in which they betray a person who esteems dignified conduct into impulsive behavior, there has arisen a common suspicion of and even a contempt for emotional experiences. One who is highly emotional is regarded as untrustworthy. As the scientific ideal has spread, it has come to be generally recognized that those who exhibit strong, uncontrolled emotions are by their very nature unfitted to conduct research or to follow a line of logical thought. The devastating effects of emotion in its relation to suicides, murders, and illicit sexual relations have provoked powerful antipathies.

As a result many tend to cultivate an austere, restrained, and unemotional attitude and to take pride in their "lack of feeling." They present this as an ideal condition, and urge it as a major aim of education. As a matter of fact no one is absolutely unemotional. It is impossible to deprive any normal person of his emotional experiences, and it would be most unfortunate to do so, even were it possible.

Repression of the Emotions.—These individuals have merely brought the outward expression of the inner bodily states under more or less habitual control. They have repressed the tendency to expression which the emotional state naturally demands. They may refuse, or attempt to refuse, to give the emotion a place in consciousness.

While a certain measure of such suppression is essential in the social order, and not in any way harmful to the individual, it may be carried to extremes. Such procedure is unnatural and may have abnormal and even disastrous results in the case of many individuals. The inner "stirred-up state" of the organism seeks its normal outlet both in consciousness and outward conduct. Repression is accomplished only by inhibitions which are effected with appreciable effort. The actual physical effects of the emotional state are not prevented, and fatigue effects may be increased. In addition the tendency to activity, being denied its natural expression, may be diffused in other ways throughout the organism and may eventuate in varied forms. The individual may be put in a state of tension which will, for a longer or shorter period, interfere with normal bodily processes. If continued it may result in pathological conditions involving neuroses, insomnias, and even functional disorders.

Education of the Emotions.—Effective results may be secured without running the risks incident to extreme inhibition, by giving the emotion an outlet of a modified type. A pianist was occasionally seized with spells of anger which proved very unpleasant. He found that attempts at repressive control left him in a badly upset state for hours. He then hit upon the expedient of sitting at his piano and playing his emotions out in appropriate selections from the operas, with the result that he soon became calm and satisfied. The emotion had found wholesome expression through substitution.

A rational understanding of the nature of emotional life and its relation to general behavior is of great aid in dealing with it, either in oneself or others. There is no need for one to follow blind trial and error methods in this any more than in other types of learning. Intelligent coöperation with the learner is a prime essential. Parents and teachers sometimes are of but little help to the child, indeed they may be a hindrance to emotional guidance, either because they are not aware of the nature of emotions or the method of control, or because they themselves are intensely emotional and even unstable. When the child becomes angry the teacher or mother may fly into a rage against the child. Punishment is often administered during the heat of intense passion with consequent injustice and generally unfortunate results, such as the induction in the child of even more violent emotions, unnatural repressions, fears and estrangements. In most cases the emotions may be tactfully diverted until a sane, logical analysis of the situation can be made. Causes for violent emotional outbursts should be avoided as far as possible.

Emotion and the Will.—Some degree of feeling or emotion lies at the basis of all volition. Emotion not only activates an individual into the general process of rendering a decision, but is the effective agency in the determination of the particular choice that is made. Mere logic alone is powerless in this connection. All that reason can do is to call in review in consciousness a variety of relationships, some or all of which may have emotional significance. The outcome which has the greater appeal to the individual at the moment, in the light of all the evidence, is settled upon as the line of conduct. One may lie inert after waking in the morning and spend the passing moments in thinking that he should arise. The sudden ringing of the breakfast bell, in contrast, starts associations which arouse the emotions, and without further thought on the matter the idler leaps from his bed.

Will is action. A decision is the first step in a voluntary act or series of acts, near or remote. The tendency to execute a certain line of action is established more or less definitely. Although an emotion tends to find its outlet in some form of overt behavior in this manner, there are frequent exceptions. One may substitute imaginal activity for real motor activity in satisfaction of the emotional trend. William James has declared himself strongly regarding this line of behavior:

> "Every time a fine glow of feeling evaporates without bearing practical fruit is worse than a chance lost; it works so as positively to hinder future emotions from taking the normal path of discharge. There is no more contemptible type of human character than that of the nerveless sentimentalist and dreamer, who spends his life in a weltering sea of sensibility and emotion but who never does a manly concrete deed. . . . The habit of excessive novel-reading and theatre

going will produce true monsters in this line. The weeping of a Russian lady over the fictitious personages in the play while her coachman is freezing to death on his seat outside is the sort of thing that everywhere happens on a less glaring scale. Even the habit of excessive indulgence in music for those who are neither performers themselves nor musically gifted enough to take it in a purely intellectual way has probably a relaxing effect upon the character. One becomes filled with emotions which habitually take place without prompting to any deed and so the inertly sentimental condition is kept up. The remedy would be never to suffer one's self to have an emotion at a concert without expressing it afterward in some active way. Let the expression be the least thing in the world—speaking genially to one's aunt, or giving up one's seat in a horse-car, if nothing more heroic offers—but let it not fail to take place." [4]

Emotions, as thus conceived, are not an end in themselves. They are merely initiatory activities looking toward action that is helpful to the individual and society. Those who have formed habits of repression or diffusion may use up all of their energy in the process of inhibition or imagination and may thereby be prevented from becoming active agents in relation to their social and physical environment.

Emotions and Personality.—Emotions are responses, hence are subject to habit-formation. The individual comes to associate certain emotional experiences with certain situations, and repetitions tend to fix these associations. One who exhibits emotional unbalance as a result of long-continued glandular disorders will often persist in his abnormal behavior long after the cause has been remedied. One's habitual emotional reactions are a very significant part of his personality.

A person may be classified by his fellows as "moody," that is, subject to fits of anger, sullenness, melancholia, or other emotional states. One may contract the habit of being moody on certain days or times of day; he may show the presence of such moods when hungry or fatigued. All persons have their moody periods when they are more susceptible to depressions or to pleasures. Extreme moods lead to various forms of mental disorder, or are symptomatic of such disorder.

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[4] William James, *Principles of Psychology* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1890), Vol. I, p. 125.

The term, temperament, applies to the more enduring states, especially the predominant mood of a lifetime. While no sharp cleavage exists between temperamental types, the historic and classic division is useful in characterizing differences which are known to exist to some degree in all. This regards all individuals as either (1) *sanguine,* confident and hopeful, (2) *melancholic,* sad and gloomy, (3) *choleric,* easily irritated and prone to anger, or (4) *phlegmatic,* cold, indifferent, and unemotional. While it is true that an individual may exhibit a predominance of a certain type, the types cannot be considered mutually exclusive. One may be born with a certain temperament due to a predisposition of the glandular mechanism, but to a great extent one's temperament is a matter of habituation. An individual is enabled to change his moods and temperament only when strongly motivated against his prevailing reaction or in favor of another.

General emotionality is a term used to denote the condition of those who are usually susceptible to all sorts of emotions. They are *hyper-sensitive* in distinct contrast to the stolid, lethargic individuals. Refinements of civilization appear to be accompanied by an increase of sensitivity to pains and sorrows as well as pleasures and joys. Those who are extremely sensitive must run the risk of instability. Individuals who are constitutionally predisposed to emotional excesses are called *psycho-neurotics.* These stand in need of special treatment in mental hygiene.

SENTIMENTS AND IDEALS.—A sentiment is a relatively permanent, positive disposition or attitude organized with reference to an object or image that excites it. The emotion of love is basic to a sentiment. Love of home, memories of mother, respect for country, flag, or church are examples of sentiments. These provide a rich background of social, devotional and aesthetic experiences. Sentimentality is a term generally used in a derogatory sense, implying superficiality and extravagance in relation to matters of sentiment, in distinct contrast to real depth of feeling.

An ideal is a more or less habitual concept regarding the rightness of individual or social behavior, coupled with the tendency to react in harmony with this concept. In a dominant ideal the emotional bias is very strong. Whether the tendency to external behavior actually results in overt activity or not depends upon many factors. Although an ideal may long persist even though not given an adequate expression, it is certainly limited and weakened by inhibition. Those ideals which are built up in early childhood, especially when given suitable outlet, are the most permanent in the determination of conduct.

Questions and Exercises

1. Show how fear of disease tends to interfere with bodily health; how fear of failure tends to decrease one's efficiency.
2. Is the emotional behavior of one under the influence of narcotics or intoxicants the same as it is in normal life? Explain.
3. Does an actor or an evangelist need to feel intensely the emotions which he seeks to arouse in others?
4. When one desires greatly to do some particular thing his whole system of reactions is set in that direction. When the desire is not fulfilled there must be a complete readjustment. Explain disappointment in the light of these facts.
5. Analyze and explain the vague yearnings and "stirrings" which you feel when listening to a great and touching melody.

To what extent are they primitive, and to what extent are they colored by your past experiences?

6. Do people sometimes get the habit of attending religious services for the sake of emotional experiences which they derive from them? Is this advisable?
7. Can one who is unemotional, whether by nature or habit, become a great leader of any cause?

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CHAPTER X

MEMORY AND IMAGINATION

The memory is a treasurer to whom we must give funds if we would draw the assistance we need.

NICHOLAS ROWE

He who has imagination without learning has wings and no feet.

JOSEPH JOUBERT

THE IMAGE.—A sensation or percept, after it has been experienced, may continue to be a significant influence in conduct. It leaves traces in the cortical structure. At a later time the centers and association pathways concerned may operate in response to some stimulus so as to give a more or less distinct revival of the experience, long after the original stimuli which gave the percept have ceased to operate. This new experience which is based upon the old ones is called an *image*.

Any mental process concerned chiefly with the formation of images is called *imaging*. This is the awareness of objects that are not present to the senses at the moment, but are re-presented. No new qualities or items of experience are here apprehended, although new associations may be made of these experiences. Nothing can be imaged which has not been experienced. An apparent exception to this rule is found in the fact that one can form the image of an animal the like of which was never seen in earth, sky, or sea. However, a detailed analysis of the characteristics of this strange creature will show that the parts of which it is made up have been the objects of previous experience. The animal is unique only in the new ways in which these parts have been combined.

Kinds of Images.—Since the image is the result of sensation, there are theoretically as many kinds of images as there are classes of sensations. One may have a clear visual image of a clock so that he sees it in some detail in his "mind's eye." The color, shape, ornamentation, and even the position of the hands may be vivid enough. In addition he may be able to hear the imaginary clock tick or sound its alarm. He may have a distinct motor image of the weight of the timepiece. Some senses do not appear to register images as readily or clearly as do others. Smell and taste images are usually fleeting and intangible; those having to do with cutaneous senses are rare; and, with the possible exception of pain, the organic senses are seldom if ever clearly mirrored in consciousness. It is difficult if not impossible to image feelings, although they are retained in behavior as attitudes.

Without doubt there are marked individual differences in the ability to form images, or in the particular type of imagery to which individuals are especially susceptible. Some have the power to form clear visual images, while others, though noticeably lacking in this power, have strong auditory imagery. The distinction between those who are "eye-minded," "ear-minded," and "motor-minded" is largely a matter of attention habits. "Instead of distinct types there is a continuous gradation. . . . Instead of antagonism between the development of imagery from one sense and that of other senses, there is a close correlation." [1]

Tests of Imaging.—One reason why so little is known regarding imagery is the fact that the means of testing it are very unsatisfactory. Introspection must be depended upon, and the evidence thus gained is not conclusive. One may state that he has a clear visual image of a stream of water flowing down a valley and babbling over the stones as it flows. It is impossible to discover from this statement, however, whether he has a distinct image of the stream itself, or whether he is merely thinking about the stream by the use of word images. Furthermore there is no certain way of judging the comparative clearness of a person's imagery by his own assertions.

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[1] E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology* (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, 1910), p. 193.

MEMORY AND IMAGINATION.—Imaging is of two very distinctive classes when considered as to outcomes: *reproductive imagery or memory;* and *productive imagery or imagination.* Both of these have the same basic conditions. In both there must be an original impression of sensations, the retention of these impressions in the nervous system, and their recall as images through associations.

The real difference between the two is found in the following considerations. Memory is the recall of experiences with fair exactness as they occurred, and the recognition of the elements of recall as having more or less distinct meanings in a time or place setting. Thus a lecturer, while in Chicago, meets John Doe and immediately remembers having met him before in Constantinople on one of his tours. In the words of James, "*it* (memory) *is the knowledge of an event, or fact,* of which meantime we have not been thinking, *with the additional consciousness that we have thought or experienced it before.*" [2]

Imagination is not thus limited. Experiences in imagination may or may not be true, or even considered as true, either in whole or in part. They may refer to the past, present, or future in time, while memory has to do only with the past. Imagination also remarkably widens the range of spatial relations. One may imagine a trip to India, though he has never actually travelled beyond the borders of his native land.

Both imagination and memory may be of the passive or active type. In the passive attitude the individual idly lets mental processes go on, as in day-dreaming, while in the active attitude he is deliberately seeking to recall and identify, or to combine and expand his experiences.

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[2] William James, *Psychology: Briefer Course* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1904), p. 287.

Value of Memory.—All real knowledge rests upon memory. Many specific facts and bodies of material must be memorized if the mental life is to be properly enriched. Some of these materials must be thoroughly mastered, overlearned, or memorized "beyond the threshold," so that their recall is automatic; others need to be learned only for the time being. Any sensory experience may be so impressed that it certainly will appear later in memory, but it is evident that not all experiences are memorized. No mind can be, or should be thoroughly encyclopedic.

Systematic education has often placed undue emphasis on memory as a final and exclusive goal. Long books of sacred writings are memorized verbatim and by rote, without any due appreciation of involved values or meanings. Examinations are often characterized by memory questions, which in no sense test an individual's ability to use what he has memorized in his thinking. Memory should be functional, being employed only in terms of actual needs, and directed toward the service of higher mental processes.

In some instances there has been a strong reaction against memory-work and students often protest against memorizing facts and indicate their desire to think or reason concerning facts. As a matter of fact, one cannot reason adequately unless he have at his command the facts which alone can provide a sound basis of thought. Through memory the percepts are fixed and concepts are constantly developed and enriched. An analogy is found in the building of an arch which may be here thought of as the complete structure of mental life. In the solid base of inherent capacities deep foundations of sense experience must be laid. Upon these foundations are laid the superstructure of memorized percepts which become a permanent and integral part of the whole structure. If any stone is omitted the arch will be made less secure. The arch proper at the top, which may be considered comparable to the higher mental processes, involving the formation of concepts, imaginations, and rational thoughts, must rest upon the buttresses of permanent memories. As an aid in the building of the buttresses temporary scaffoldings are erected. These are analogous to the many associative experiences which assist in the formation of percepts but which are no longer needed after these have been fixed in place. Before the arch itself can be constructed a mass of scaffolding must be erected as a firm base upon which the stones in the curved portion may rest. Only when the keystone, the ability to reason, is put in place does the arch become independent of the framework. Only then can the scaffolding, the temporary memories, be safely removed. In fact if such framework is not removed the beauty of the arch is hidden and its usefulness as a passageway is prohibited.

Memory is not always limited to the use of ideas. Motor processes must be learned, retained, and reproduced. In this sense, habits are sometimes considered as memories. The memory phase of habit-formation lies in the impression, retention, and recall of kinæsthetic images in relation to the activity. The extreme behaviorists do not recognize the memory image as such, but incorporate all memories under habit reactions of a distinctly motor or glandular type. According to this interpretation one can be said to remember only when he has the tendency to speak, or otherwise evidence the behavior which was originally associated with the experience.

FORGETTING.—The *forgetting* of minor details is often a valuable characteristic of mental life. It is not an unmixed blessing however, for one often forgets material which he wishes to remember. It has been previously noted that retention comes through permanent modifiability of the neural tissue, and it is improbable that the neural trace, once fixed, will ever be removed. If this be true, how is it possible for one to forget? Granting that the association has been formed, it may not have been deeply fixed so that it is automatic. Again, there may not be a stimulus at the moment adequate to effect a recall. Another possible cause for forgetting material may be its repression through the mixing of associations, or the centering of the attention on interfering connections. An attempt to remember often hinders recall, while the matter of concern will spontaneously come to mind at a later time when the attention has been shifted to other things. Distractions, such as may come through emotional disturbances, often break the train of thought. Who has not experienced the embarrassment of "stage-fright"? Disease, drugs, a nervous shock, or senility may cause a breakdown of nervous tissue or loss of energy which results in the loss of memory. Forgetting may be permanent or temporary. It varies in all degrees, from inability to recall a name to complete amnesia, or total loss of memory. News items frequently cite instances of persons who have suddenly found themselves in a strange place and among strange people, but who have no idea whatever as to their own identity or how they happened to be there.

The rate at which forgetting takes place varies greatly, depending on a number of factors, such as the age of the individual, the degree to which the material was learned, the character of the material, the meanings which are attached to the material, and the purpose of the learner.

The German psychologist, Ebbinghaus,[3] carried on pioneer experiments in this field by learning nonsense syllables, such as "gar," "fab," "lin," until he was able to make the first correct recall. He found that forgetting is very rapid at first and then tapers off more gradually. Radosavljevich,[4] using nonsense syllables and poetry, found that, when the material was learned to the extent that two correct recitations could be made instead of one, forgetting went on more slowly and to a lesser degree, and that only one third of the original learning time was required to relearn the material after the lapse of twenty-four hours. Forgetting is much less complete and rapid when the material is logical and interesting and when the learner intends to remember. In all teaching, whether in a forum, church, or classroom, emphasis must be placed on developing proper attitudes and interests and on repetition and review in order that the instruction may be assured of permanence.

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[3] H. Ebbinghaus, *Ueber das Gedächtnis.*

Comparatively simple activities such as walking, skating, and swimming involve a large number of associations. Many of these have to be overlearned (learned beyond the point necessary for the first correct recitation) before proficiency is attained. Many connections are involved in other skills and are practiced incidentally. Consequently many motor skills suffer little from disuse. If a boy was proficient in skating at fifteen, he will be able to pick it up readily at fifty, although he has not skated for thirty-five years.

Errors of Memory.—Somewhat similar to the loss of memory or forgetting is the mixing of associations so that recall is only partial, or identifications are inaccurate. A common error of this type is the confusing of the names and faces of persons whom one meets. One may make a hurried acquaintance with a Mr. Brown, at the same time associating certain of his features or characteristics with those of Mr. Jones because of their similarity. On the next occasion of meeting Mr. Brown he is wrongly called Mr. Jones. The child makes a similar error in confusing words, such as "to," "too," and "two." Even though each word was carefully memorized, together with its meaning, subsequent associations between the words creep in and are reproduced in the memory pattern.

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[4] P. R. Radosavljevich, *Das Behalten und Vergessen bei Kindern und Erwachsenen nach experimentellen Untersuchungen* (*Das Fortschreiten des Vergessens mit der Zeit*), Leipzig, 1906; Göttingen, 1907.

Errors are often made as a result of confusing the content of memory and imagination. Actual experiences may be thought of later on as imaginary ones. A poet may be inspired to dash off a very beautiful verse which he believes to be original in every sense. He cannot recollect ever having heard or seen such a combination of words, rhythms, and meanings. When the verse is published, however, he may find that all unwittingly he has committed an act of plagiarism, for the verse is a very exact copy of one that had impressed him some time before but which he failed to recognize as a memory.

A more common error is made in stating and thinking of events as having been experienced, when in reality they never actually occurred. They have been built up in imagination until they have gained the clearness of reality. Memories of early childhood which adults have may never have been experienced at all, except as imaginary constructions which have been effected through hearing parents or others tell vivid and interesting stories. Many of the lies of children are attributable to this type of error, rather than any intentional dishonesty. Sympathetic understanding of the origin of falsehood will induce a wiser treatment of the child.[5]

No memories are photographic reproductions. Many of the images that are reproduced are more or less distorted. Remembering a person is not the same as having a complete picture of him. Many of the details are omitted, or have become blurred or wrongly associated through imagination. Evidence of witnesses before courts of law is notoriously inaccurate, especially if a long interval has elapsed between the event and the trial. This is not necessarily owing to any duplicity on their part, but simply to natural errors through forgetting and imagination. An honest report may be colored by the conscious or unconscious wish of the reporter, as well as by inaccurate and superficial observations and by suggestions coming from others. Cross-examination may accomplish its purpose of discrediting the testimony of those who are patently falsifying, but it also frequently results in the confusion of honest witnesses, so that they are no longer certain which elements are due to memory and which to imagination.

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[5] Adolph E. Meyer, "The Lies That Children Tell," *Scientific Monthly,* December, 1926, pp. 519–28.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN MEMORY.—Not only are the memories of adults different from those of children, tending toward more detailed accuracy, but great variations exist among adults. There are those who learn rapidly and retain well. Others learn quickly but forget rapidly. Among those who learn slowly, some forget easily and others retain material tenaciously. Individuals who retain well vary greatly in the duration of time that they remember. Some memorize certain material readily, but are much poorer in memorizing other material. Some of these differences are attributable to inherent capacities, but others are the result of interests, conscious effort, education, and specific training.

IMPROVING THE MEMORY.—Since native capacity cannot be changed appreciably, many memory deficiencies are irremediable. However, the employment of right methods of learning will enable anyone to approach his maximum efficiency. Practice in memorizing gives facility in certain of the techniques involved in memorizing, such as voluntary attention, the building up of meaningful associations, and specific procedures in recall and identification. Such practice is very specific, however, and the improvement of memory in one field will in no sense insure its improvement in all fields. A general attitude favorable to all memory-work is the best means of general progress in this activity.

Memory-training systems which are widely advertised and sold make use of ingenious associations called *mnemonic devices*. Sometimes a great deal of material—words, symbols, or pictorial images—is memorized thoroughly at the start, and this provides the basic elements with which any other material to be memorized may be associated. In other cases a great deal of practice in memorizing is given on the assumption that memory is an organ or a faculty which may be strengthened by exercise. On the contrary, it is function of the entire organism. In so far as these memory systems arouse interest and inspire confidence, they are effective; but the results of scientific investigation indicate that one's energy is more economically placed if it is carefully devoted to the particular task in hand, and to the establishment of proper attitudes. Only in this way can any permanence be assured.

TYPES OF IMAGINATION.—Imagination is of two rather distinct types. In the first, there is no consciousness of purpose, and no voluntary ordering of images to any specific end. It is free, spontaneous, and more or less passive and uncontrolled, as in the case of day-dreaming, fancy, and reverie. The second type is more strictly creative or constructive in the sense that it is purposeful, original, and controlled. The "play of the mind" found in the former type has a very definite value as a means of recreation, but when it is habitually employed as an escape from reality, or as a substitute for productive activity it is to be deplored.

VALUE OF CREATIVE IMAGINATION.—The creative type of imagination is the chief contributing factor in all inventions and discoveries, as well as in every other aspect of progress, except in rare instances where these are hit upon by chance. Imaginations not only mirror the past, in the sense that they bring past experiences to bear upon present conduct; they also anticipate the future in the light of the past and present. Prophets of all ages have this power to a marked degree. Free imagination is the basis of all that is done in composition in art, music, and literature. Columbus not only imagined a round earth, and a short route to the Indies, but he also inspired others with the same vision. On the other hand, his sailors, like so many others of their day, peopled the watery wastes with horrid monsters and unknown terrors, and dreaded the jumping-off places at the edge of the flat earth.

Imagination in itself is no assurance of progress or of the attainment of worthy ends. Individuals must be trained into habits of formulating their imaginations in accordance with basic ideals. Since only those items may be components of the imagination which have been actual experiences, direct or indirect, it is very important that the child as well as the adult be provided with a rich fund of wholesome experiences. Fears, shocks, and angers may color the whole imaginal field so as to interfere with free normal expression, or distort the final product of imagination in unfortunate ways.

The emotions play a great part in imagination. Affective states determine what shall be imagined, the form that the imagination takes, and the clearness with which the imagined elements are projected. An individual who fears the ravages of a certain disease will imagine very vividly that he has the symptoms of the disease whenever he may suffer from some minor ailment. The loving mother will imagine her son to possess virtues with which he was never really blessed. Imagination activity which is heavily freighted with emotion and feeling-tone is sometimes called fantasy. There is a common failure to recognize the importance of this in determining human destiny. Carlyle sensed this when he wrote, "not our Logical Mensurative faculty, but our Imaginative one is King over us; I might say Priest and Prophet to lead us heavenward; or Magician and Wizard to lead us hellward. . . . The Understanding is indeed thy window, too clear thou cans't not make it; but Fantasy is thy eye, with its color-giving retina, healthy or diseased. . . . Of this thing, however, be certain; woulds't thou plant for Eternity, then plant into the deep infinite faculties of Man, his Fantasy and Heart; woulds't thou plant for Year and Day, then plant into his shallow superficial faculties, his Self-love and Arithmetical Understanding, what will grow there." [6]

ABNORMAL PHASES OF IMAGINATION.—In certain kinds of mental disorder, objects are imagined as present to the sense when no object in any way approximating the image is acting as the source of stimulation. This is called *hallucination*. It is not a mere misinterpretation of sensations, as is the case with illusions, but a fabrication of an image as the result of central stimuli. Thus Macbeth imagines that he sees the murdered Banquo sitting in his place of honor at the table. An hallucination may be very vivid and persistent even in the face of reason. These states may be temporary, as in deliriums, or permanent as in some forms of insanity, and may deal with one element or many.

An individual may develop a *mania* in which his imaginal field is largely limited to certain past experiences which have made a deep impression. His mental set is directed along certain lines and all his behavior tends to find expression in a rather concentrated range of activity. Thus a man may spend his days and nights on the problem of perpetual motion, with endless inventions that lead to nothing of value. Another may be a fanatic in the espousal of some good cause to the extent that every conversation, all reading, and all thinking lead toward this single objective. There must be something of the fanatic's concentration and enthusiasm in anyone who would succeed along any line of human endeavor, but whenever this is carried to such an extent as to destroy proper balance the individual is abnormal. The psychoanalysts find a frequent cause of mania in some desire which has been denied, an unfulfilled wish, which becomes the central idea in one's day-dreams and determines the content of all of his creative thought.

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[6] Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*. Extracts from the chapter on Symbols.

DREAMS.—One of the apparently mysterious phenomena of mental life is the dream. This is a spontaneous form of imagination occurring during sleep when ordinary conscious controls are not operative. An ordinary sense stimulus, an emotional tension, or general bodily tonus of any kind may serve to initiate a dream, as well as cause it to persist. Associations of images apparently are formed at random, sometimes with the most bizarre and incoherent effects. Dreams may be very clear and real, and may have a very marked emotional effect, causing depression or exhilaration on awaking, as though the circumstances in the dream had actually occurred. Because of their mysterious character dreams impress many as omens or prophecies, and any coincidence of later events with a dream is exaggerated so as to lend color to the notion that the dream is predictive. Dream-books are published which not only appeal to the interest of the gullible, but cause many to waste a great deal of worrisome thought about their dreams as related to their future.

IMAGINATION IN CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.—The images of childhood are probably very intense and vivid as compared with those of the adult. At first the child is little concerned with the truth or falsity of images. Reveries, mythical tales, and imaginary playmates make up a great share of the child's life. After this period, possibly because of home and school emphasis on fact and memory as well as natural interest and progress, the child tends to check up his imaginal experiences and compare them with fact. During this period it is easy for the child to lose the power of free imagination, never to regain it fully. During early adolescence (the "teens") the youth develops a controlled imagination in terms of social values, and normally devotes himself to some form of creative production. At first he is greatly influenced by emotional states, and his progress is marked by a greater refinement and control of imagination through logical analysis and the inhibition of impulses.

Questions and Exercises

1. Show how the Laws of Association operate in memory and imagination.
2. Discuss the value of dramatizing material for children or adults in schools of religious education.
3. Cite instances of speakers who depend for their power and influence over their audiences on their ability to paint vivid word-pictures.
4. Point out the advantages of travel and of wide reading in relation to the imaginal life.
5. Trace some of the influences of the motion picture on memory and imagination. Should the churches make greater use of it?
6. Indicate some of the cautions relative to memory and imagination in the training of children, considering such matters as under-emphasis, over-emphasis, individual differences, relation to reasoning and emotions, and influence on attitudes.
7. Show how creative imagination operates by giving a specific illustration.
8. Show why it is essential that any leader of men shall have a vivid imagination and be able to stimulate imagination in others.

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CHAPTER XI

REASONING

What or how can we reason but from what we know?
ALEXANDER POPE

The creative thinker is the hope of our human future, and the great teacher is the one able to stimulate curiosity, to instil interest in searching for knowledge, and enthusiasm before the challenge of a problem.
A. E. HAYDON

THE NATURE OF THINKING.—The mental life has been compared to a stream of more or less closely related experiences; at times flowing smoothly, at times turbulently; fed by auxiliary streams; manifesting itself in various types of behavior; and constantly changing throughout the entire lifetime of an individual. *Conscious life* at any one moment may be thought of as a cross-section of this stream.

Thinking has various definitions and vague uses. To some, anything that goes through the mind is spoken of as a "thought." A more exact concept states that thinking consists of connected successions of related mental states, such as memories, imaginations, and ideas with their feeling accompaniments. These may be more or less independent of immediate external stimulation. One may have a fleeting image of the face of a person he met at a social gathering on the preceding evening, or remember his own embarrassment over some social error he committed, but he cannot be said to be truly thinking regarding either of these unless he settles down to a period of deliberation in which he considers at some length such things as the person's probable character and occupation, or the reasons why the error happened to be made and means for avoiding such an error in the future.

THE NATURE OF REASONING.—The most refined and complex forms of thinking are called *reasoning*. All reasoning is thinking, but only a certain type of systematic, reflective thinking may be termed "reasoning." Reasoning has been defined as "purposive thinking" or "problem solving." In a sense it is a form of learning, for it involves a problem situation followed by a series of mental trial and error responses until the individual hits upon the final successful response or solution.

Reasoning results when, and only when some obstacle, ideational or physical, interferes with ordinary behavior. The difficulty must be of such a nature in relation to the individual, or be deemed so important, as to demand a settlement. Attention to the line of thought then continues as a rule until the problem is analyzed, suggestions for solution are evaluated, and some solution is reached. A parent is faced with a significant problem when a child disobeys. The problem may be that of securing immediate obedience in a particular situation, or the more general habit of obedience. In this emergency the parent may recall his own experiences as a child, or may consider the conduct of other parents in like crises. He may go even further and consult books which explain the nature of childhood and the best ways of handling them, or may confer in person or by correspondence with those who are known to be authorities. He then arrives at a conclusion and proceeds to test it by application, whether it be some form of punishment, the giving of reward for obedience, or some combination of these. If the solution reached proves satisfactory, the problem has been eliminated; if not, further reasoning must be resorted to and a more thorough search and evaluation made in the light of the new experience.

Formal and complete reasoning is made up of rather distinct steps, involving: (1) A detailed statement and definition of the problem, (2) A detailed and systematic analysis of the problem, (3) Organized hypotheses or suggestions for solution, followed by a collection of data and evidence by which the adequacy of the suggestions may be judged, (4) A weighing of the evidence pro and con in the light of all past experience, (5) A statement of the conclusion reached after mature deliberation, and (6) The application of the conclusion to the situation and deliberate verification of it by further observation and experimentation. Reasoning of this type is thus seen to be at the very basis of scientific method (p. 9).

As a matter of fact, the reasoning that characterizes ordinary life situations is in no sense as elaborate as these steps indicate. Problems are seldom clearly recognized and stated. There is very little systematic organization and analysis, and seldom is there a deliberate effort at verification. Reasoning takes place in all degrees of complexity.

LEVELS OF REASONING.—Roughly, two levels of thinking are recognized: the *perceptual* and the *ideational,* and reasoning may take place at either of these levels. The former involves the making of comparisons and the seeing of relationships between objects or situations present to the sense. So one may come to the conclusion that "This book is the same color as that one," or "This package is heavier than that." In contrast, the ideational level involves the use of ideas and concepts in relation to other ideas and concepts. In addition to the comparison of more or less definite images, abstractions and generalizations are employed. Ideas are not limited by time and space considerations as are immediate percepts, therefore this type of reasoning enables one to solve abstract and theoretical problems. Through imagination the teacher or other social leader can anticipate situations and work out fairly satisfactory solutions before encountering them.

Much, if not most of the reasoning that ordinarily takes place in the routine tasks of life is superficial and deals with concrete material and behavior. "Shall I take my umbrella with me today?" "Shall I go by auto or on the train?" "Should I close this letter 'Sincerely yours' or 'Yours very truly'?" are typical problems which are met. The majority of life situations and activities are cared for by habituation and imitation.

However, there are major crises in the life of everyone when systematic thought is required. Individual destinies depend upon the ability to attack the problem and work out a satisfactory solution. Regret is often expressed in the words, "If I had only thought."

The Apprehension of Problems.—Individuals differ greatly in their ability and willingness to recognize problems. Keen observation and a strong instinct of curiosity are the best preparation for the discovery of problems. Many things had been falling for untold generations, but, if the legend be true, the falling of an apple caused the inquisitive mind of Newton to recognize a problem which gave him no peace until he had reasoned his way through to the first rough draft of the Law of Gravitation. A person who lives without meeting serious problems is not progressing mentally. For this reason, a life of hardship is usually a greater stimulation to mental development than a life of ease. Any form of guardianship which protects a child from the incidence of problems is to be deplored.

Problems are recognized as sources of unpleasantness. When a real and vital problem is faced by an individual he must remain in an unsettled state until a solution is reached. For this reason, many often make an effort to escape any direct responsibility in relation to the problem. They attempt to get around the problem in some way, or to shift it to one side without solution. Some procrastinate the time of actual recognition and statement of the problem, in the hope that, in some way, it may solve itself. One may thus become habituated in the evading of problems. A common method of evading problems in a particular field is to start with a universal premise which effectually eliminates the possibility of the existence of problems in that field. The honest and industrious procedure is to accept fearlessly any problem which arises and to think one's way through to a solution.

THE SOLUTION OF A PROBLEM.—Intensive reasoning used in the solving of a critical problem requires great effort in the concentration of attention. Ideas must be held in mind and compared and related to other elements in intricate patterns. Memory and imagination are active, and judgments must constantly be given. Persistence is demanded. Natural inertia causes one to avoid this effort if possible, and this attitude may readily be habituated into a form of mental laziness.

Even as the existence of a problem is accompanied with unpleasantness, so the solving of an aggravating problem brings much satisfaction. One of the greatest incentives to the grasping of problems is a widespread experience in reaching satisfying conclusions. There is a sense of creative power resultant, giving a peculiar enjoyment that can be had in no other way.

All problems require some form of *analysis* as a first step in solution. This analysis must be suitable to the particular problem. There is no one universal type of analysis suitable to all problems, although the attitude of the individual and his general plan of procedure are much the same in all cases. The analysis of a certain mechanical puzzle may be no more like the analysis of a problem in social service than the dissembling of an automobile is like the microscopic analysis of a flower.

Synthesis is also involved, for various facts and experiences must be collected and related to each other. Comparisons can be made only within the field of one's experiences. In a definite reaction against the memorizing of materials, one may overlook the fact that reasoning is dependent for its effectiveness on a wide background of learned materials. Originality in thinking is here shown in the diversity and richness of experiences which are made use of, and the particular and unique ways in which they are combined.

Judgment is constantly made use of in these processes of analysis and synthesis. Selections of material are made on the basis of judgments as to their fitness. Various relationships may be involved, such as, cause and effect; purpose; size; weight; length of time; and part and whole. These may be related in terms of difference, similarity and identity. Evaluations of the relations or the weighing of evidences involves many acts of judgment.

In comparatively simple problems a single judgment may lead to a conclusion, or even be in itself the conclusion. The conclusion is however generally spoken of as an *inference*. This is a generalization which is inferred from all the facts that are known, and at least for the time being it is assumed to be true. When it is necessary to check the conclusions; that is, to test them for validity and reliability, *proof* is used. This consists of relating them to experiences of the past or to other new experiences as they occur to see if the conclusions may still be regarded as true.

INDUCTIVE AND DEDUCTIVE METHODS

In the course of the solution of a problem a person may reach a conclusion *inductively;* that is, as a natural outcome of specific experiences. Most scientific discoveries have been made in this way. On the other hand, he may proceed *deductively* by calling to mind general rules or principles which he regards as authoritative and base conclusions upon them. All rules, laws, and formulas must first be developed by the method of induction, but when these are accepted and applied the method of deduction is being used. Any reasoning process may and usually does make use of both methods. If only the inductive method could be used, learning and reasoning would be very wasteful, since every individual would find it necessary to do over again everything that had already been done in the history of the race that would bear on the problem, before he could reach a satisfactory conclusion. Many axioms, laws, and basic principles must be accepted as true and used in many ways to advance further thought.

The inductive lesson seeks to stimulate and guide the learner to observe, think, and find out for himself. Conclusions reached in this way are found to be more meaningful and vivid than when they are dogmatically asserted at the very start. Laboratory procedure in the teaching of natural and social sciences is based upon this method. Language may be taught by developing principles and rules from usage rather than by starting with the memorizing of such principles. Ideals of obedience and principles of moral conduct may be learned by many experiences in which good behavior is always followed by satisfying results and wrong behavior uniformly results in some measure of distress.

The deductive lesson is also of great importance. It is frequently necessary to start with general principles or truths and apply them to concrete individual cases. Maxims and rules, once understood and appreciated, are often of the greatest value in meeting similar situations at later times and in different settings. A master ideal in the field of moral behavior becomes a means of control over specific decisions regarding one's acts.

DEFECTIVE REASONING.—Poor thinking and reasoning may be due to a great variety of causes. In some cases pathological conditions of the nervous system prevent the normal operation of reasoning processes. Errors of belief which are attributable to such causes are characteristic of certain kinds of insanity, especially manias and paranoias. Although such errors are specifically known as delusions, any false conclusion may be roughly so classified. Those who are normal in mental life may be deluded or deceived in the sense that they have reached erroneous conclusions. The cause may be due to an inadequate supply of facts or data bearing on the problem at hand. The facts used in the solution may not be reliable or valid. The individual may not know the technique of logical thought, involving methods of assembling, organizing and evaluating facts and of checking the reliability of the inferences. Bias and prejudice may enter in to such an extent as to cause the individual to arrive at conclusions in harmony with his desires rather than with the observed facts, the "wish being father to the thought." A person may lack flexibility and fertility in theorizing, or ingenuity in interpreting the facts at hand. He may be impulsive and lack the ability to hold his decision in suspense until all available facts are made use of. It is because reasoning is so complex that there are so many places in which one may err. There are many pitfalls along the strait and narrow path of logical thought. The study of formal logic reveals many fallacies which are commonly committed. The ability to reason is dependent on the existence of a thinking machine in the structure of the central nervous system. If this does not function properly at birth, or if it is injured by disease, effective reasoning power may never develop. Here is found a marked distinction between those of superior and inferior mentality. There is a wide gulf between the idiot and some great leader of human thought.

RATIONALIZATION

Because it is so common, *rationalization* deserves special mention as one of the chief causes of poor reasoning. By this term is meant the mental process of selecting reasons that support one's personal desires, and it is to be in no wise confused with rational thought. It is biased and partial and is ordinarily very subtle, so that an individual is seldom aware of his bias. Someone has stated epigrammatically, "It is the case with many men that, when they think they are thinking, they are merely rearranging their prejudices." They are attempting to reason with closed minds. The problem is already decided as far as they are concerned; the only problem that remains is to find reasons which will justify the predetermined conclusions. This method of "reasoning" is freely used by fanatics, and fosters intolerance and dogmatism in politics, social theory, business, religion, and even science.

Rationalism takes many forms. An individual, through lack of effort, may fail to win success in an undertaking, but instead of admitting that his failure was due in any part to his own inefficiency, he explains it as due to chance, luck, or "pull" on the part of his successful competitor. One who is responsible for wrong behavior resulting in tragic consequences may comfort himself with the thought, "It is the Lord's will," or "What was, had to be." He projects the cause away from himself, and thus escapes a sense of blame.

Rationalizing has certain values. Defeat may be reckoned "a blessing in disguise." Those who are impoverished may assert that "money is the root of all evil" and thank "their lucky stars" that they live in lowly circumstances since they reason that they are more comfortable and happy than they would be if well-to-do. One who is of mediocre ability or opportunity may find supreme contentment and enjoyment in performing lowly tasks.

The chief criticism that may be brought against rationalizing in any form is that it is an evasion of the truth and of the search for truth. As such it holds no promise of advancement for individuals or for institutions. Systems of ideas are developed which tend to remain static. Prejudices, grudges, and dogmas obtain which are impenetrable to reason and facts.

Social Importance of Reflective Thinking.—One of the basic problems of a democratic society is the development of members of that society who are able to reason. No doubt very large numbers of the adult population are willing to accept the opinions and judgments of others without discrimination, instead of formulating their own opinions and arriving at their decisions after intelligent deliberation. On occasion the word and work of experts in special fields must be accepted, but this should be done only after an evaluation of their authority has been made. Leaders in educational thought are realizing today as never before *the need for training children in independent thinking,* for developing in them the ability to analyze problems in the light of facts, and for creative production.

Dewey holds that the future of civilization depends upon the development of the habit of scientific thinking. He writes, "To cultivate unhindered, unreflective external activity is to foster enslavement, for it leaves the person at the mercy of appetite, sense, and circumstance." [1]

In a very real sense Aristotle was right when he wrote, "Knowledge is virtue." If a person could think his way through every situation and estimate accurately all of the outcomes of his behavior, he could be depended upon to do the right thing.

Tyranny of any sort is based upon the ignorance of those who are governed or controlled. It contains the germ of its own overthrow, however, for the unhappiness and problems which it forces upon the populace cultivate the thinking attitude, which must eventually find its outcome in revolution. Those who have projected a revolution may fail in the organization of their new society because they have received no adequate training in logical thinking, and for a very long period, the undertaking may be a mere trial and error struggle to find their way in the maze of complicated and novel problems. Plato's ideal of a state was concerned largely with the placing of "wise men" in control. These men would not only be acquainted with the facts necessary for the administration of affairs, but would be able to apply reason to the control in the interest of the common welfare. A democratic state must depend, not only upon the intelligence of leadership, but upon the widespread ability to reason on the part of the people, who are thus enabled to coöperate in the affairs of government and to select their leaders wisely. There is an amazing lack of rational thought relative to the solving of great political and social problems which makes the future years most critical.

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[1] John Dewey, *How We Think* (D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1910), p. 67.

Until the influence of logical thought can become pervasive in modern society, there must be laws and law enforcement, there must be rigid formulae of behavior. There is a danger that independent thought will come to be regarded as the equivalent of correct thought. Childhood and youth cannot be depended upon to manifest any adequate accuracy in thinking. There will always be a certain proportion of the population who will never be able to reason effectively, either in determining their own destiny or their relations with their fellowmen. The responsibility for much of human conduct must fall upon the functional heads of government and the strong leaders of social life in all of its phases.

FAITH AND REASON.—There are many who find *faith* and reason irreconcilable, and assert that one must accept either the one or the other as the exclusive guide of conduct. The two should be considered rather as mutually interdependent. Faith is an attitude which may pervade all of life's activities, including reasoning in any field, but should never be considered a substitute for reason. Reasoning is the prime duty of those who are able to think. The power to reason is the highest mental ability which man possesses, and any act of faith which would tend to nullify and deaden the reason in any field in which it might successfully operate would be extremely unfortunate, for its outcome is mental suicide.

On the other hand, reasoning has definite limitations which should be recognized. Beyond the range of the known and the knowable faith may and should operate, for the sake of its tonic effect upon the human mind, if for no other reason. Such faith cannot be dogmatic regarding things that are not yet known, but postulates and theories may be set up and tentatively adhered to until they are shown to be untenable. An honest agnostic may exhibit faith of this type. There is an integrity in reasoning which calls for man's strongest allegiance. One cannot honestly assert fact where reason has not directed, nor deny the certainty which mature reason has given.

The apparent conflict between faith and reason is most evident in the matter of judgment as to the character of testimony which is used, and its comparative value. Here indeed lies the greatest confusion. Individuals often rely upon data and authority which are altogether untrustworthy from the viewpoint of a scientist. The evidences which the scientific thinker adduces are not appreciated by those who are untrained in scientific methods. The remarkable growth of the natural sciences, their accuracy in prediction, their proof of hypotheses and the establishment of general laws, their successful struggle against many forms of barbarism and superstition, have tended to give the rational method a great impetus among all classes. Its advocates are, however, not justified in claiming for it powers which it does not possess, nor achievements which it has not yet made. The greatest leaders in scientific thought, while not relinquishing any of the truths discovered, are humble before the presence of the unknown. They recognize that mystery has by no means been removed from the universe, but eagerly accept the challenge and joyfully undertake the task of delving a bit deeper into the great unknown. Scientists are learning to talk the common language and to conceive their greatest task to be that of making ascertained truth known to all.

Reason and Emotion.—Some resent the "cold-blooded" attitude of the scientific thinker, and consider him to be devoid of all human emotions. While it is true that he must either eliminate his personal feelings in the matter under consideration, hold these feelings under control, or at least discount his conclusions for the bias created by them in forming all of his judgments and inferences, the process of reasoning is by no means free of emotions. There must always be some adequate motivation for beginning and continuing any line of thought. Decisions themselves are the immediate outcomes of refined feelings regarding the values which are found in the elements of a situation. The attitude of impartiality is itself a complex of affective states. The chief distinction between scientific thinking or reasoning and "snap-judgments," lies in the fact that the former more adequately eliminates impulsive responses. Impulse is very destructive of logical analysis, since it provides for no deliberation.

There is a tendency on the part of many to honor their intuitions or "hunches" with authority. An *intuition* is a form of judgment or inference made rather quickly on the basis of past experience or from comparatively meager evidence, and with little if any deliberation and consciousness of the process by which the conclusion was reached. It represents no mysterious power on the part of the individual to see into the future, and although the conclusions are sometimes found to be reliable, it is in no sense dependable as a form of reasoning. Emotions often play a large part in this type of mental activity.

Common sense is a form of practical judgment which may or may not be largely intuitive. It may be comparatively simple or may be based on a very complex series of related experiences. It is concerned with concrete, workable relationships rather than with theoretical abstractions.

The Improvement of Reasoning.—A common view holds that the ability to reason in any situation is inherent and consequently not susceptible to change through training. One phase of this concept maintains that children are not able to reason until they near or reach the age of adolescence. This corresponds somewhat with the "age of accountability." On the contrary, studies of the mental behavior of children show that the child begins forming simple judgments at a very early age, and that his development from that period on is one of gradually increasing ability to handle more and more complex problems. There is no sudden increase of reasoning powers in youth. This fact points to the necessity of giving the child, not merely training and drill in factual material to be memorized, but a rich and varied experience in reasoning of a difficulty and type adapted to his age and interests.

Reasoning may be considered a mental skill which is subject to the laws of habit-formation. Habits of logical thought in particular situations are gained only by practice. If a child has not gained such habits by the time he reaches his teens, he will find it difficult to form them. Accurate thinking implies an adequate supply of reliable facts bearing upon the problems. These facts must, however, be definitely organized and related to each other and to the problems. These problems must be real to the learner, not merely imposed upon him. A common error in the treatment of children is to put off their natural inquiries, to tell them to keep still, or to give them untrue answers. It is also a serious mistake to do a child's thinking for him, for then he may never learn to apply himself to the solution of problems. He develops the habit of leaning upon others. Another unfortunate tendency on the part of adults is the wholesale forcing of dogmatic statements upon the child, with no provision whatever for experience in inductive reasoning leading to the development of principles which shall have meaning for him.

Training in thinking should be given in all situations of life. Not merely the study of mathematics, but any undertaking offers opportunity for such training in some degree at least. Training should deal specifically with each of the following aspects:

1. Fostering an inquisitive attitude.
2. Development of vital problems.
3. Practice in the clear definition of problems.
4. Development of an attitude of open-mindedness.
5. Training in judging the comparative value of evidences.
6. Methods and habits of analyzing a great variety of problems.
7. Organizing various facts relating to a problem.
8. Developing ability to offer suggestive guesses and hypothetical solutions.
9. Practice in drawing inferences bearing on problems.
10. Habituation in checking findings and submitting them to proof.
11. Experience in restating conclusions in the light of new experience.
12. In the advanced years some practical training in the science of logic, with a view to giving an appreciation of the care and refinement that should be given to thought processes.

Transfer of training cannot safely be assumed. Learning to solve one problem may assist not at all in solving another of quite a different type. One may master the science of logic with no resultant improvement in reasoning ability. The problem-solving attitude may be developed, however, so that all problems are attacked with a clear-cut analytical purpose.

The training which is here suggested will not fulfill its real purpose unless the learner is impressed, not only with the fact that he knows much and is capable of knowing more through the agency of correct reasoning, but also that there is much that must remain a mystery, or at best within the realm of hypothesis. Care must be taken that the learner is impressed with the limitations of reasoning. Above all he must be led to realize his personal responsibility for correct thinking, and the avoidance of fallacies in all situations; as well as the necessity for making no claims for conclusions as facts which cannot be backed by adequate proof.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Cite instances of the reasoning process of young children and especially note the elements of which these are composed.
2. Do animals reason? This is a most interesting topic for debate even though no conclusive decision may be reached. To what kind of evidence are those holding the affirmative limited?
3. Outline the steps of reasoning in some practical situation and problem which you faced and solved.
4. How would you explain the "Worship of Reason" in France during the Revolution?
5. Is it possible for anyone to be absolutely unprejudiced? Is complete tolerance attainable? Can one be tolerant and yet aggressive in the proclamation of truth as he sees it?
6. Would you advise a dependence on the inductive method in the solving of problems in moral behavior?
7. What bearing has reasoning on gullibility?

8. Give instances of rationalization.
9. Show how faith characterizes the thought and work of the scientist. Also how emotion plays a part in rational thought.
10. To what an extent should paternalism and censorship be exercised?
11. Explain and apply the following quotations from Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, "thought without reverence is barren, perhaps poisonous." "The man who cannot wonder, who does not habitually wonder (and worship), were he President of innumerable Royal Societies, and carried the whole Mecanique Celeste and Hegel's Philosophy, and the epitome of all Laboratories and Observatories with their results, in his single head,—is but a Pair of Spectacles behind which there is no Eye."

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CHAPTER XII

MENTAL ABILITIES

Nothing will give permanent success in any enterprise of life, except native capacity cultivated by honest and persevering effort. Genius is often but the capacity for receiving and improving by discipline.

GEORGE ELIOT

Men are often capable of greater things than they perform. They are sent into the world with bills of credit, and seldom draw to their full extent.

HORACE WALPOLE

NATURE OF MENTAL ABILITY.—In the preceding chapters various aspects of mental activity have been described and related. The association of reactions in such forms as sensations, perceptions, memories, imaginations, feelings, thoughts, and motor activities enable individuals to make adjustments to situations in their environment. These adjustments are in the form of adaptation or control. They begin at birth and continue throughout life. Consciousness aids in making adjustments more economically than would otherwise be possible. This ability to adjust is called mental ability.

SPECIFIC ABILITY VS. GENERAL ABILITY.—From the point of view of particular adjustments one may be thought of as making a specific adjustment, or having a *specific ability.* In this sense an individual may be said to have keen vision, to possess habits of clear observation in a particular field, to remember accurately and clearly the details of logical material, and so on. Such specific abilities are myriad in number.

On the other hand, when the total reaction of the individual to his environment is considered, one is concerned with *general mental ability*. This is made up, of course, of the combination of specific abilities which the individual possesses, but these are not the subject of immediate interest. In case the individual is capable of only a poor adjustment to his world one may wish to discover the special abilities which are present or lacking, but this is of secondary importance. Unless otherwise designated the term "mental ability" is usually taken in this more general sense.

NATIVE VS. ACQUIRED ABILITY.—The individual comes into the world normally with meager powers, but with comparatively great potentialities. If the infant were to continue growing physically in a normal manner to adulthood, but failing to develop mentally he would become a helpless idiot. But he has the capacity for mental growth as well as physical. The senses mature, and in contact with environment, percepts and concepts are gradually formed and reformed. Ideas are associated in logical patterns and deposits of memories accumulate to serve as a rich storehouse of mental life.

The environment not only serves as the occasion or the stimulus which serves to bring out the natural inborn capacities; it also prescribes what capacities shall be developed and to what extent they shall unfold. Furthermore, it often places checks and limits upon original potentialities. Improper nourishment during early childhood, a limited and narrow range of experiences, undue eye-strain, or an attack of scarlet fever or other disease may force the child into a destiny which could not at all have been prophesied from a knowledge of his native propensities alone. One hears frequently the term "native mental ability." This is a theoretical quantum. It cannot be discovered at birth because the baby's reactions are then so limited. At any later period one cannot be sure what ability was native and what has been acquired, nor how much the native ability has been restricted by experiences through which the individual has passed.

If one were to imagine two children of unequal capacity, specific or general, being provided with exactly identical environmental experiences throughout life from birth, it is evident that the one with the greater capacity would develop a richness of mental life and power superior to the one with inferior capacity. One's mental development can never rise above the level already predetermined by his potentiality at birth, although it may fall far below such an original capacity index.

Physiological Basis of Mental Ability.—It may be said that mental ability of any sort is physiological, since it is predetermined in character and extent by the neurone structure which makes the elemental states of sensations, images, and feelings possible. Furthermore, the complex mental states of perception, memory, imagination, and reasoning would not be possible unless the intricate association pathways in the nervous system were properly developed. The possession of the elemental functions of mental life in no sense insures that one will be of able mentality. Unless these potential components of mental life are properly integrated in adequate patterns, intellectual life cannot exist. The idiot may be able to smell, see, hear, form simple images, experience primal feelings and emotions, and in many ways evidence reactions to stimuli. He falls short in those comparatively complex reactions which ordinary life demands.

Mental defect is not merely a mental phenomenon; it is the result of some failure of the neural mechanism, whether such failure is attributable to native deficiences in nerve cells or pathways, or to later accidents. On the other hand an instance of comparatively high mental ability is a sign of an unusually plastic nervous system, and one which is exceedingly well coordinated. A thoroughly sound body is one of the fundamental requisites and assurances of sane and efficient mental activity.

Intelligence and Its Definition.—The term *intelligence* is commonly used as a synonym for "general mental ability" with the emphasis on conscious adjustment through thought processes. Although in common parlance, the term is very difficult to define adequately. One of the major problems of psychologists is that of determining exactly what is meant by intelligence. Many scholars have given definitions, but these are not always in close agreement.

According to earlier definitions, still given popular credence, an individual is intelligent to the extent that he manages the affairs of his life successfully. This definition is obviously unsatisfactory, since relatively dull persons may succeed fairly well through industry and perseverance or good fortune, while very bright individuals may make a failure because of lack of specific training, lack of interest in practical affairs, emotional instability, poor environmental conditions, or poor health.

Most definitions are more in agreement than disagreement in regarding intelligence as the capacity to adjust oneself to relatively new situations, and this implies the ability to learn. William Stern of Germany states that it is "a general capacity of an individual to adjust his thinking to new requirements; it is a general mental adaptability to new problems and conditions of life." [1] Colvin asserts that it is "a group of innate capacities, by means of which the individual is capable of learning in a greater or less degree in terms of the amount of these innate capacities with which he is endowed." [2] Buckingham writes "we are justified, from an educational point of view, in regarding it as the ability to learn, and as measured by the extent to which learning has taken place or may take place." [3] Other definitions given which differ only in matters of emphasis on what is learned are, (1) ability to perceive readily and accurately, (2) the power to master language forms, (3) readiness in the assimilation of information, (4) ability to form abstractions and to grasp abstract ideas, (5) general reasoning ability, and (6) a complex of abilities involving all mental functions in patterns which make for effective response.

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[1] Stern, W., *The Psychological Methods of Testing Intelligence,* by G. N. Whipple (Warwick & York, Baltimore, 1914).

[2] "Symposium-Intelligence and Its Measurement," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* XII, 123–147; 195–216.

[3] *Ibid.*

Complexity of Intelligence.—There has been a tendency on the part of some to regard intelligence in a comparatively simple way. Thus if an individual does not evidence a certain type of reasoning power he may be regarded as in so far lacking in mental ability. In fact anyone might be placed upon the single scale of mentality, according to whether he possesses or does not possess certain more or less complex traits essential to a certain grade of intelligence. Such a scale would extend from relatively simple sensori-motor reactions such as reflexes which might be expected in the lowest grade of idiot, to highly elaborate problem-solving abilities.

Such an interpretation is an over-simplification. Mental ability is at least a two-dimensional fact, since an individual not only possesses powers of a certain degree of complexity, but possesses these to a certain degree of effectiveness. Thus one may have a very strong memory for meaningful material, but be relatively weak in memory of rote matter; may be exceptionally good in problem-solving, but be definitely poor in motor control. Another might own the same traits as the former, but in varying degree, so that his total mental reaction to his environment would be greatly different.

Not only may these abilities be considered as extending on a scale of complexity and on a scale of degree of efficiency; they may also be thought of as having a certain amount of depth or richness attributable to the background of experience and associations that have been built up in relation to the ability groups. Two individuals with the same basic quality and amount of mental traits might differ greatly in their application of such traits in particular situations, depending upon the range of associated experiences.

One might even conceive of a fourth dimension, that of time, in which all of the abilities are being constantly modified as life continues. Mental life is not static but may, like consciousness, be compared with a stream which is constantly changing in form and amount of flow as time goes on and new factors are operative.

Intelligence is ordinarily conceived as relating especially to the first two of these dimensions in the sense that it is a native capacity, largely if not altogether determined by heredity. In this sense it is considered as a predeterminant of what richness shall be developed through life from training, education, and incidental experiences, and what changes shall take place in all phases of development. The intelligence which is actually met with in any individual is, however, made up of environmental as well as pre-natal influences.

IMPORTANCE OF INTELLIGENCE.—From whatever point of view it may be considered, intelligence is the chief distinguishing mark of man in contrast with the animal world, as well as the mark of distinguished men. Without an adequate intelligence one becomes an object of the world's pity, while with it one may be able to attain a responsible and respected place in world affairs and leadership of his fellows. It is a determinant of success or failure of pupils in the schools and of adults in their vocations. The greatest steps in progress have been won for mankind by men and women of high intelligence. One's success in solving the new problems which he is constantly meeting throughout life depends upon the amount and type of intelligence he possesses.

Intelligence in itself does not insure happiness, since this is dependent upon many other factors. In so far as it contributes to success of one kind or another, one might consider the intelligent man especially conditioned for happiness, but it is a remarkable fact that the dull person is usually very complacent in the face of failure and often accepts a low standard of social and economic life without complaint.

The significance of intelligence in vocational interests and success is noteworthy. Those who are bright are generally characterized by a lively ambition which leads them to excel. They seek the academic pursuits and professions, as well as leadership in commercial affairs, and leave their duller companions to become "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water." There are some vocations in which intelligence is not a requisite; in fact, in which it may prove a handicap. The laborer who has as his only duty the pulling of a lever every time a bell rings needs use only the simplest reflex movements. It has been found that those of higher intelligence are not content to perform such tasks for long, but move as soon as possible to other occupations more nearly fitting their abilities.

Intelligence is of the greatest importance in matters of civic and moral life. A true democracy in government can exist only as the citizens are intelligent enough to vote rightly upon the great issues which are presented to them, and to elect as their state leaders those who are well qualified for office and capable of intelligent leadership. While it is true that intelligence does not insure a high grade of morality, the person of greater mental ability is generally capable of weighing better the relative merits of specific acts and profiting by experiences. The criminal is often one who is unable to abstract a moral ideal and is very susceptible to the play of forces about him which lead to anti-social conduct.

THE MEASUREMENT OF INTELLIGENCE.—Since the latter part of the nineteenth century psychologists have been greatly interested in the task of measuring mental ability. Part of this interest has been purely academic, but much of it is attributable to the practical demand in education, industry, and other fields for some effective method of differentiating those of different levels.

The first work along this line was done in the field of special abilities, such as reaction time, rate of tapping, visual and auditory acuity, memory, and association. The first test of general mental ability appeared in 1905, the work of Binet, a French psychologist. He realized that simple tests of single traits were inadequate for measuring the complex trait of intelligence. He therefore grouped a large number of tests together which would serve to give a composite picture of the mental level of a child. He selected the tests used after a detailed study of the behavior of children and special observation of those things which the bright child could do or do well in contrast with the dull child of the same age. In a revision of this test made in 1908 the tests were grouped in age levels, with about five or six to each age. The tests at any age were tests which the average normal child of that age passed successfully. If a child ten years of age passed the test for the eight year group, but no others, he was said to have a *mental age* of eight years. The child was then said to be retarded mentally two years.

The work of Binet was a pioneer invention which proved of the greatest significance. Many revisions of the Binet tests followed, all based upon the same general plan, but attempting improvements in content or method of administration. Among them may be mentioned the Goddard revision, the Yerkes-Foster Point Scale, the Kuhlmann revision, the Stanford Revision, and the Herring Revision. Of these the Stanford Revision, devised by L. M. Terman, of Stanford University, has been the most widely used. This test standardized directions, changed the order of test items, introduced new tests, omitted others, and introduced the use of the *intelligence quotient* (I. Q.) which had been previously suggested by William Stern. By this plan the child's mental age is divided by his chronological age. The resulting quotient for a normal child would be about 1, or when multiplied by 100, would be 100. The brighter child would have a quotient above 100 and the duller child one below 100. For example, a child 10 years old (120 months) having a mental age of 8 years (96 months) would have an I. Q. of 80. The norms on which the test results are based were standardized with many cases at each age level.

The intelligence tests noted above were designed to be given to individuals, and for this reason were called *individual tests*. They provide a very accurate estimate of mental ability, with possibility of analysis to see in what specific tests a child fails, as a guide to a better knowledge of his mental life and habits. The use of the individual test was found to be very expensive of time and demanded thorough specialized training of those who handled them. Therefore attempts began to be made to develop tests which could be applied to comparatively large groups at one time. As a result *group tests* were constructed which have met with wide popular use. During the World War the Army Tests were made and applied to over a million soldiers as an aid in selecting recruits, placing them to the best advantage in the various fields of army service, and the selection of officers. Since the war many different group tests have been devised, including, the National Intelligence Tests, The Otis Intelligence Tests, the Terman Group Test of Mental Ability, and the Detroit Intelligence Tests. These have been widely used for a variety of purposes. Many million school children have been tested at all levels from the kindergarden through the high school. Special tests have been organized for use in college, chiefly as a means of selecting college entrants.

The group tests do not give as accurate results as do the individual tests, but provide satisfactory approximations, and are very well adapted for general surveys of groups. Special cases which demand more thorough analysis may be later investigated by the use of individual tests.

No one should undertake the use of any form of intelligence test without taking special training in the field, involving a knowledge of the tests best fitted for the end in view, the method of administration, and the technique in interpreting results.

THE THEORY UNDERLYING INTELLIGENCE TESTING.—There are some who protest that mental traits are so intangible that they are not subject to measure, and others resent the attempt to reduce human mental powers to a formula. But an individual's intelligence must reveal itself in some form of behavior, and this behavior is for the most part susceptible to analysis in terms of both quality and quantity. It is probable that intelligence testing is as yet in its beginnings, and that it is in no sense a "fad" that will soon die out, but on the contrary a well-defined undertaking that will gradually be perfected.

Intelligence testing is merely a sampling of a person's mental life at the time, much as one might sample a prospective oil field by drilling wells of various depths at different points within the area. The tests attempt to present new problems of various types; tasks which call for the use of perception, memory, quick adjustment and readiness of association, and learning. The assumption is made that a general analysis of one's mastery of learned material, and of his habits of learning and thinking is an index of the capacity which has largely shaped the experiences of his past life and which will influence his future.

Thus far the tests have been remarkably justified by consistent results. Repeated tests of the same individual on different occasions show fair and sometimes high reliability. As refinement of the tests proceeds and the bases of test construction are more clearly defined, their accuracy and usefulness will be greatly increased.

Educational Tests.—In the directing of educational activities of the individual, tests of the progress achieved and the mastery attained in the various school subjects have been found valuable. Beginning with Thorndike's Handwriting Scale in 1910, these tests have increased rapidly in number and now nearly every subject of the entire school curriculum is dealt with at the various school levels. *Standard subject-tests* are now given to millions of children annually and have to a great extent replaced the old formal examinations. They are organized in much the same way as are the intelligence tests, standardized directions are followed, and norms (both age and grade) have been developed.

Such tests are invaluable aids in the guidance of students as they are much more thorough and exact than older methods of grading achievement. The social worker will find frequent occasion to make use of such tests in assisting individuals in educational careers, or in vocational direction. Similar tests in the field of religious knowledge, mastery of the Scriptures, and knowledge of moral concepts are being developed.

Miscellaneous Tests of Mental Functions.—In recent years psychologists have turned their attention to the construction of various forms for testing intelligence, and the development of tests of mental functions in fields other than intelligence and educational subject-matter. Among these may be briefly noted:

Performance or non-language tests devised to test the mental ability of immigrants, illiterates and the deaf.

Prognostic tests, which have as their object the discovery of whether an individual is able to succeed in a particular study or group of studies.

Diagnostic tests, which are planned so as to reveal the specific points of strength or weakness of the one who is tested.

Trade tests, which reveal the degree of mastery which one has in a specific vocation, such as lathe work, typewriting, or bookkeeping.

Rating scales for teachers, foremen, etc., which provide many items of possible merit, on each of which the individual is rated by one who is trained in the procedure, possibly as Excellent, Good, Fair, Poor, or Very Poor, and the total points accumulated established as a record for comparative purposes.

Vocational aptitude tests which attempt to predict a person's probable degree of success in a particular vocation on the basis of his ability in a test embodying a model of the task imposed by the vocation, or calling for the same specific abilities.

Character tests, involving tests of moral judgment, honesty, and similar traits, both in terms of ideals and habits.

Emotional reaction tests covering the field of affective states, attitudes and specific emotional responses to stimuli.

All tests of mental abilities are made as scientific as possible, in the sense that they are objective, precise, and thoroughly standardized. The present trend is toward the perfection of such tests as exist and the development of new tests in the field of specific abilities. It is evident that there are many important mental traits which will not yield readily, if at all, to testing. Appreciations and attitudes, for example, are extremely intangible and difficult to reduce to scale.

Those who work with mental ability tests of any sort should *use care in not placing too great a dependence upon results.* These tests furnish valuable data, which, when properly interpreted and taken in connection with other obtained data, throw much light upon the characteristics of individuals or groups.

DISTRIBUTION OF MENTAL ABILITIES.—It is only in recent years that the fact of *individual differences* in mental ability has been generally recognized. In earlier years differences in accomplishment were attributed to wilful attitudes. One who failed in his studies was thought to be morally at fault, and even in extreme cases, possessed of a devil. There are those who today, in the face of all biological and psychological facts, persist in asserting that "all men are created equal." They attribute differences, not to native capacity, but to the experiences through which the individuals have passed. Differences in both capacity and actual ability are now fully recognized in terms of quality as well as quantity.

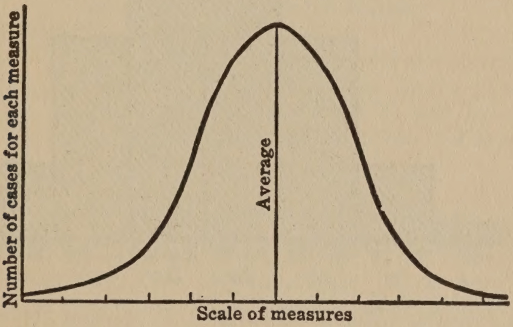

FIG. 10
Normal Frequency Curve

It has been discovered that individuals are distributed in any mental ability in approximately the form of the *normal probability curve,* when a large number of measures, selected at random, are made. Figure 10 is a representation of this mathematical curve, the base line being the scale of measures and the vertical line a scale of frequency, or number of cases occurring at each unit of measure on the base scale. It can be seen that there are comparatively few cases at the extremes, and a comparatively large number at the center or average. There appears to be a law of distribution of mental abilities which must be recognized.

As an illustration of a theoretical distribution in the case of the results of intelligence tests, the following graph is presented.

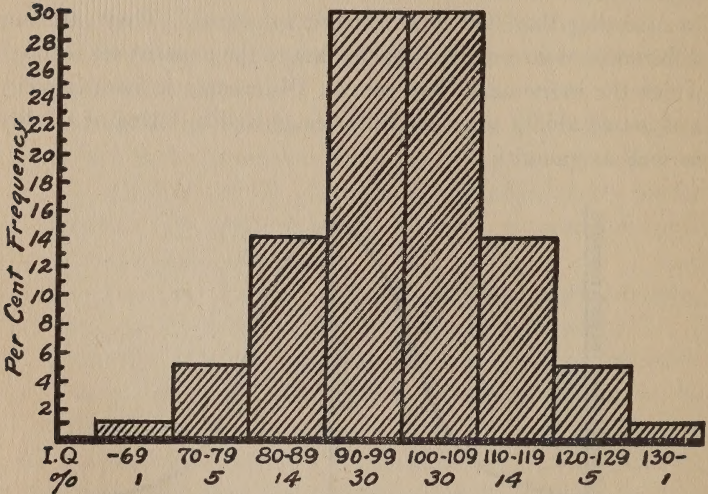

FIG. 11
Histogram Illustrating a Normal Distribution of Intelligence Quotients in a Random Sampling of Population

One may note the remarkable symmetry of this figure. There are comparatively few who may be classed as feeble-minded or nearly so, and comparatively few of the very superior. About 60 per cent fall within the narrow range of 90–109 I. Q. Every child who is deficient in intelligence is matched by another who is superior.

As a matter of fact children are not naturally grouped in classes so that there is a clear differentiation between the normal group and adjacent classes of backward or superior. There is a gradual gradation from one class into the other. For purposes of clarifying the study of the mental status of children, and classifying and treating these children, groupings are made, however, on the basis of measurement and observation. Terman[4] suggests the following classification:

I Q	CLASSIFICATION
Above 140	"Near" genius or genius
120 to 140	Very superior intelligence
110 to 120	Superior intelligence
90 to 110	Normal or average, intelligence
80 to 90	Dullness rarely classifiable as feeble-mindedness
70 to 80	Border-line deficiency, sometimes classifiable as dullness, often as feeble-mindedness
Below 70	Definite feeble-mindedness.[5] Of the feeble-minded, those between 50 and 70 I Q include most of the morons (high, middle, and low), those between 20 or 25 and 59 are ordinarily to be classed as imbeciles, and those below 20 or 25 as idiots.

Lincoln's famous statement, "The Lord must have loved the common people, He made so many of them," gains force as one studies the results of these and other tests. About 2 per cent of the total child population are definitely feeble-minded and are sadly predestined to a very limited mental development with all that this implies in the way of institutional care, dependence, or low standards of social and economic achievement. Another 2 per cent are richly endowed with mental capacity at birth so that they may become leaders of the world's thought and achievement.

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[4] L. M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence* (Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1916), p. 79.

[5] This particular classification of children having I. Q.'s above 50 and below 70 as being feeble-minded has been criticized severely by Dearborn and Wallin. Adults and children alike who fall within this class-interval are feeble-minded only in school work. Economically and vocationally they may be normal.

Practical Suggestions.—Mere casual observation alone cannot be depended upon to reveal those who are either feeble-minded or superior in abilities. Neither can the ratings which children receive in school be considered safe criteria. Some are called feeble-minded who are suffering from auditory or visual defect, or whose low standing is attributable to poor early training. Many feeble-minded children are called obstinate, or lazy, without any thought of actual mental deficiency. Many of those who made enviable records in later life, such as Isaac Newton, Charles Darwin, and Henry Ward Beecher, in school work ranked among the lowest in the class, probably because of lack of interest in the dry details and dull routine which characterized the school work. The bright child who is lazy is often encountered. He has met with no real challenge in the work of the school, and all tasks given him are so easy that no special effort is put forth in accomplishing them. After a time he forms the habit of superficial work or even idleness, with the result that he does not perform the simple tasks assigned with any degree of credit.

Those who have occasion to deal with humanity in the mass or as individuals, should have a clear consciousness of the facts and implications of individual differences, not merely with regard to intelligence, but also in matters of special ability, emotional life, and interests. The social or religious worker may have in mind only the average man, and consequently neglect the claims of the upper and lower groups. As a result the members of these groups lose interest and become socially passive or even a social menace. A minister, being himself of superior mentality, may make the mistake of addressing all on his own level with a consequent failure to grasp the interest and secure the coöperation of those of the average and lower classes. He has no right in that case to blame them for withholding their support, since he is "talking over their heads." Laboring groups, made up largely of those not above average mentality, often sense this neglect, and resent the religious service which is planned for the "intellectual aristocracy." The social worker may become so aware of the problem of the mental misfits and those of low mentality that he fails to recognize or deal adequately with those cases of superior ability which he meets. Readiness of adaptation to the needs of all groups is an essential of real leadership.

Living the Good Life is obviously conditioned by intelligence as well as by other factors. Teachers and leaders in this field cannot change the original endowment of any person, but they can adapt their program, materials and methods to the abilities and interests of the individuals. Every person is an individual problem, and everyone is worth while in the great task of raising the level of civilization, by increasing individual, social, and religious efficiency. Detailed methods cannot here be presented. The duller individual requires simple presentation, a comparatively small body of factual material, much clear illustration, emotional appeals with little organized reasoning beyond simple judgments, much stress upon imitation, and constant oversight and guidance. In contrast those of superior ability require more complex material, difficult tasks, emphasis on initiative, thoroughgoing reasoning, and independent growth. Those of average ability demand methods somewhere in between these two extremes. The same requirements cannot be made of all children. There is good common sense and sound psychology in the scriptural injunction of exacting from each one according to his talents.

Much research is needed in the problem of adapting materials and programs, as well as the methods, of religious schools to the various types and levels of mental ability. Also some system of classification according to needs should be developed wherever at all feasible. Special abilities should be discovered, in art, music, mechanical genius, social leadership, business acumen or other traits, among those of all groups and the individuals should be encouraged and aided in developing and using these abilities toward useful ends that are in harmony with high ideals.

Questions and Exercises

1. May mental ability or intelligence be considered as a unit character or combination of such units, transmitted through the genes of the germ cell in the same way as is true of color of eyes?
2. Would it be advisable for the social or religious worker to inform an individual who is stupid or bright of his mental status, or to let him know that one is aware of his handicap or superiority? If so, under what conditions and with what purpose should it be done? If not, state why not and indicate how one might treat the case adequately without revealing the knowledge.
3. In addressing an audience made up of all classes of mental ability how could one safeguard his appeal to all, rather than direct it to any one class?
4. Cite instances of differences in specific ability that you have known. Also note cases of those whom you believe to have been very stupid and very bright. Give the distinguishing characteristics of each case and especially contrast the dull and the bright.
5. Show how sympathetic understanding and helpfulness are encouraged by a full knowledge of the fact of individual differences.
6. Point out the necessity of imparting high ideals to those who are of unusually able mentality.
7. Is it correct to infer that all members of the lower social and

economic classes are of low mentality? What factors other than inferior intelligence induce individuals to become and remain unskilled laborers?

8. Explain why the ones who have wide publicity as geniuses while young do not always become notable leaders.

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CHAPTER XIII

STANDPOINTS IN PSYCHOLOGY

The criterion of a scholar's utility is the number and value of the truths he has circulated, and the minds he has awakened.

COLERIDGE

He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that.

JOHN STUART MILL

ONE who would have a clear view of psychology as a whole and understand its general and detailed applications must realize that there are many different viewpoints. These have been more or less formalized into "schools of thought." The various schools are concerned, not so much with matters of observed facts as with the interpretation of these facts, either as related to philosophical theory or to applications. The viewpoints of the groups of psychologists are not always in opposition, and in some cases they merge into one another so that an absolute classification is not easy. In almost all cases the advocates of a certain view have selected a certain aspect or aspects of psychology and have emphasized such aspects in their study and thought. The chief tenets of some of these schools will be presented for comparative analysis.

SELF-PSYCHOLOGY AND PERSONALISTIC PSYCHOLOGY.—In the early days of the systematic study of psychology, when it was known as Mental Science and Mental Philosophy, the idealistic conception of the world dominated the thought. Psychology was not then so largely concerned with anatomical facts and objective data, but dealt largely with philosophical speculations. Theological concepts played a large part in determining points of view. It was natural that a large amount of attention should be given to the matter of the ultimate nature of the Self or Person. Most of the texts used during that period devoted a comparatively large amount of space to this topic. The viewpoint is by no means obsolete. Emphasized greatly at first by such men as James Ward and G. F. Stout, the British psychologists, and in America by J. Mark Baldwin and Josiah Royce, it has been perpetuated by Miss M. W. Calkins, H. H. Horne, E. S. Brightman, Walter Athearn, and a number of psychologists.

The champions of this school define psychology as the science of self. Some of these not only insist upon the reality of a self for each individual which has its own mental states and experiences, but assert that it exists, at least to a great extent, independently of the physical mechanism of the body. Some who recognize the relation between the mind and body regard both as phases of the self, arising in response to the needs of the self and dominated by it. Others assume that the mind and body together constitute the self.

According to these thinkers the basal fact of psychology is the conscious self. The self is by its very nature conscious, and self-consciousness is a distinguishing mark between man and animals. They believe that all experience is a proof of self, for only the self can have experiences. Furthermore psychological experiences cannot be properly interpreted without reference to the various attitudes which the self takes toward the world about it.

Personalistic psychology is a term commonly given to self-psychology. J. E. Bentley[1] has presented a good statement of the position generally held by this school. He says:

> "It [*the Self*] is an individual, a potential person, with a capacity for personality. . . . The Self . . . is beyond the forms of neural energy and biological categories, and is not a physical process or

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[1] *Boston University Bulletin, August 15, 1925.*

a thing. It is a self-directive force which makes man a creative being, qualified to use the mechanism of intelligence by the persuasion of ideals and values which make growth of intellect and morals possible."

Introspection is the generally recognized method of psychological investigation on the part of the personalistic psychologists, for by this method alone can the self be discovered and its nature made known. Consciousness is regarded as causal and creative along lines determined by inherent purposes. A marked contrast is found between "the pull of the *psyche* (or soul) and the push of impulses which proceed from man's somatic nature." This is a dualistic interpretation of man's nature.

Some personalists emphasize unity as the keynote of personality. The self integrates all of the complex elements of experience and assimilates them, and personality is the sum-total of these complexes at any moment. "A person is an organic whole of reality."

The self is regarded as elemental, or irreducible. The "I" must be accepted and its decrees respected. Sherwood Eddy expresses this concept in these words: "I directly experience myself. I am and I am aware! What is aware? That irreducible center, that dynamic unit and entity revealing itself in its states and functions, but not made up of them, that self that is a whole experience which has never yet been disproven nor explained away—Personality." [2]

The leading criticism of self-psychology is that it is metaphysical rather than fully scientific. Explaining mental processes as expressions of a permanent underlying self is a philosophical procedure. Although imaginative reason may lead the way into this realm of the unknown there is no objective method by which scientific data may be collected to prove or disprove the theories

[2] Sherwood Eddy, *New Challenge to Faith* (George H. Doran Company, New York, 1926), p. 97.

presented. However, the self is not unknown and introspection as a method may be made scientific. It might be argued that the ultimate nature of the self is of little concern, and that it does not matter whether or not the self is cause or result, whether it is an independent and controlling entity or merely a mirror of forces. The point of view that one takes does however greatly affect one's attitude toward himself and his fellows. If indeed I am the "master of my fate," and able to control my own destiny in every particular, then I am responsible for my own conduct under all conditions and so subject to praise or blame for consequences.

Purposive Psychology.—Another type of psychology which involves a more or less philosophical and idealistic view of life is called *purposive psychology.* The leading exponent of this view is William McDougall. According to this view *purposive striving* is the key to reality, and man's life is made up of strivings and efforts looking toward their fulfilment. Man is not, then, a passive product of his environment, but an active dominator of his environment. Purpose is regarded as the most vital, essential, and distinctive element or aspect of human life, yet not to be described as a sensation or image, and not to be in itself discerned by an inspection of movement. Other names for it include impulse, desire, motive, will, ideal, intention, and responsibility. McDougall ridicules the plan of writing a text on psychology and then adding a chapter on the Will, since all of psychology is concerned with will.

From this standpoint, man is accepted for what he really seems to be: a thinking, striving being who sometimes fails and sometimes succeeds, but who is "always striving to achieve the goal set up by his own nature, and by his active relations with all his fellow-citizens." The theories involved are based upon "two indisputable empirical facts: first, the fact that sometimes men create new things, such as great works of art and literature and new scientific formulae. Secondly, the fact that, when the normal man simply and strongly desires a certain end and perceives certain bodily movements to be means to that end, those movements follow upon that desire and that perception." [3] Behavior is thus seen to be, not the product of a neural organism, but in some mysterious and as yet unexplained way the modifier of that organism. The purposive psychologist favors the use of both the objective and introspective methods in the collection of data.

THE GESTALT OR CONFIGURATION PSYCHOLOGY.—The so-called configuration theory is chiefly the result of the work of German students: Köhler, Koffka, and Wertheimer. It has been presented in America largely through the efforts of R. M. Ogden, and still more recently, through the lectures of Koffka and Köhler.[4] Experiments tended to show that the response of an individual to a stimulus is actually a response to a total situation, which is designated the configuration. Life is thus conceived to be a constant series of configurations involving responses, not to specific stimuli, but to complex and intricate patterns. These patterns are more than merely the sum of their parts, in fact the whole is not found in any one of the parts.

This view places the emphasis upon integration and synthesis, rather than analysis. In reading the familiar words, "Very cordially yours," one reacts to the phrase as a whole, not to the separate letters. Its configuration elicits the meaning response, in which the whole organism is the unit of action. Man himself is more than merely an ingenious combination of cells. He is a macro-organism with a unique personality, not at all explainable by a detailed analysis of the individual cells which enter into his physical structure.

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[3] Wm. McDougall, "Purposive Striving as a Fundamental Category of Psychology," *The Scientific Monthly,* Vol. 19, September, 1924, pp. 305–312.

[4] The psychological views of C. H. Judd are very similar to those held by the configurationists, although he does not belong to this particular school of thought.

From this standpoint, psychology must deal with complete actions instead of isolated mental states or acts. To understand man's behavior one must know not only his reflex and instinctive tendencies, but also his interests, purposes, feelings, capacities, and all other factors involved, as well as their particular organization at the time. Since every reaction to a situation leaves the organism in a changed condition, the reaction to the same stimulus can never be precisely the same on two successive occasions.

This theory is of special value in emphasizing the unitary type of mental behavior and also in accentuating the complexity of mental life at a time when many are inclined to over-simplify it in their thinking. It points to the inadequacy of any known method of making any thorough analysis of mental life and capacities.

STRUCTURALISM.—Structuralism is a school of thought championed chiefly by E. B. Titchener, in direct line of academic descent from Wilhelm Wundt. Members of this group consider "mental content" the proper subject matter of psychology. They study mental states in themselves, analyze them, classify them, and formulate the laws of their connection. They employ the laboratory process, sometimes involving the use of elaborate apparatus for the purpose of controlling conditions. Although observation is constantly used, the structuralist places major emphasis on the introspective method as a means of gathering data. It is in this way that the specific mental states are analyzed into their elements, and these elements then synthesized in a systematic fashion.

The structuralist recognizes the value of a study of the physical mechanism. "In order to make psychology scientific we must not only describe, we must also explain mind. . . . It is by reference to the body, to the nervous system and the organs attached to it, that we explain mental phenomena. The nervous system does not cause, but it does explain mind. . . . It does not add one iota to the data of psychology, to the sum of introspections. It does furnish us with an explanatory principle for psychology; it does enable us to systematize our introspective data."[5]

FUNCTIONALISM.—Structural psychology treats the mind as if it were a fixed, or static entity. In distinct contrast, *functionalism* considers it as dynamic, a stream of constantly changing processes and functions. Instead of considering the data of psychology from the standpoint of structure or content, the functionalists deal with mental activities as different ways in which the entire organism adjusts itself to the varying conditions of the environment. President James R. Angell, the leading contemporary champion of this doctrine, in direct line of descent from James, the dean of American functionalists, writes: "In our study of mental processes we shall . . . regard consciousness, not as a metaphysical entity . . . but rather as one among many manifestations of organic life. . . . We shall regard all the operations of consciousness—all our sensations, all our emotions, and all our acts of will—as so many expressions of organic adaptations to our environments, or environment, which we must remember is social as well as physical."[6]

As a rule, the functionalists do not distinguish between content and process. Each process is described in its wholeness, rather than analyzed into its simplest parts. Sensation, for example, is treated as a phase of a single mental activity or way of adjusting on the part of the entire organism, rather than a complex of attributes or qualities. Both introspection and objective observation are freely employed in gathering data, and detailed study is made of the relationships of physical processes to mental life.

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[5] E. B. Titchener, *A Text-Book of Psychology.* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1910), p. 37 ff.

[6] J. R. Angell, *Psychology* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1908), pp. 7 ff.

Behaviorism.—The year 1913 marks the first vigorous presentation of the psychological doctrine of *behaviorism.* The term had been used as early as 1899 by H. S. Jennings, and in 1905 by Wm. McDougall. The behaviorist movement was initiated by John B. Watson, who maintains "Psychology as the behaviorist views it is a purely objective branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is the prediction and control of behavior. Introspection forms no essential part of its methods, nor is the scientific value of its data dependent upon the readiness with which they lend themselves to interpretation in terms of consciousness. The behaviorist attempts to get a unitary scheme of animal response. He recognizes no dividing line between man and brute."[7]

The behaviorist believes in describing life and its activities objectively. The data of psychology are bodily movements, or other evident adaptations. The behaviorist does not necessarily deny mind and consciousness, but he does emphatically assert that they cannot be studied scientifically. He therefore finds himself limited to a study of behavior in terms of stimuli and responses. The primary contention of this group is that if all facts regarding behavior connections were at hand, the psychologist would be able to predict and control behavior of any individual or group. This leads some behaviorists to a mechanistic interpretation of human behavior, and to an emphasis on determinism rather than a recognition of voluntary control on the part of any individual.

Recent and somewhat radical claims of Watson include the denial of the existence of instincts, opposition to the view that special abilities and disabilities are inherited, and the assertion that all emotions, save the relatively simple rage, fear, and love which are manifested in the behavior of the new born babe, are learned or conditioned.

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[7] John B. Watson, *Behaviorism* (W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1924).

Behaviorism has been and is of value in its renewed emphasis on scientific method, and its insistence that psychology shall be taken out of the clouds of metaphysical theory and placed upon the solid ground of fact. It has served to bring to light many facts and concepts that had been neglected.

Many objections have been raised against this school of psychological thought, especially in its most extreme forms. Many of the statements must be regarded as rather dogmatic, or at best exaggerated claims for concepts which are as yet highly hypothetical. The free use of analogy, by which it is assumed that what is true of the dog is also true of the human being, is a case in point. Comparatively few psychologists recognize the validity or the necessity of limiting psychological method to objective observation. President Angell expressed himself in sympathy with the behavioristic view in so far as it was a revolt against the exclusive use of introspection, but counseled against the total abandonment of this method since it may be used in securing data obtainable in no other way. E. L. Thorndike, R. S. Woodworth, and A. I. Gates, who may be considered as "modified behaviorists," also believe that psychology must use both objective and subjective methods.

The denial of the reality of consciousness and purpose is recognized by many as unthinkable, and hence merely an abstraction. The mechanistic interpretation is equally unsatisfactory and at best a hypothetical assumption without absolute proof. Many forces inhere in the individual himself which have not been analyzed and it is possible that the person transcends many of the influences about him by the very nature of his organization. The creative conscious, forward-looking individual mind is difficult to explain as the product of forces.

Another opposition to behaviorism is its rigid acceptance of the Stimulus-Response hypothesis. It is as yet impossible to explain all behavior adequately in terms of neural and bodily processes since knowledge is so limited in this field. At least the S-R hypothesis, as stated, does not account for the constantly changing character of the individual, nor for his consciousness of control over his own conduct.

PSYCHOANALYSIS.—Sigmund Freud may be credited as the one chiefly responsible for the initiation of *psychoanalysis,* although its inception may be said to begin with Janet. This is a comparatively late tendency in psychology which attempts to understand the normal and abnormal states by studying the unconscious or subconscious mind. The leading concepts of this school of thought are briefly summarized.

Life is an eternal conflict between organized society and the individual. The natural desires, instincts, and wishes are at variance with the ideals, customs, and religious sanctions of society. As a result, not only is the expression of such tendencies inhibited, but the very thought of them is suppressed, or forced into the subconscious. They are more or less forgotten, but remain active, forming *complexes* of ideas, emotions, and attitudes which influence behavior directly or indirectly. The pent-up energy involved in the unsatisfied desire or desires seeks to discover an outlet. The tendency to repression becomes a *censor,* carefully guarding all ordinary means of expression and observing all thoughts born of the forbidden desires. Manifestly the only way in which the wish is able to gain expression is by some indirection. This may take place in dreams, sometimes highly symbolic; in amnesias; in mental disorders; or even in insanities, involving manias, hysterias, phobias, and hypochondrias. Functional bodily ailments often result.

A large phase of the work of the psychoanalyst is concerned with effecting cures, and thus it becomes allied with medical psychology and is of chief interest in mental hygiene.

The psychoanalysts have made a real contribution to psychology in their intensive study of abnormal mental life, as well as the aberrant tendencies of normal individuals. They have provided new and useful techniques in the treatment of such cases, have pointed out the need for greater care of the developing mental life of children, especially in the emotional phases, and have developed an enlarged vocabulary.

One of the leading points of opposition to this school is with regard to the soundness of the theory on which it rests. The existence of an unconscious mind is purely hypothetical, since it can be known, neither through objective observation nor through introspection, but can only be inferred. The practical personification of the censor, existing as a separate mind within a mind is also unproved. It is possible to explain all of the facts of abnormal mental function in much more probable ways.

Another objection to psychoanalysis is found in its undue emphasis on sexual desires as the chief determinant of abnormal states. In the early presentations Freud considered sex cravings in one form or another the sole factor, and used the term very loosely. He later recognized the "will to die," while Adler enunciated the fact that man also strives for power, mastery, and domination; and Jung, one of the most able extremists of the group, emphasized the fact that man is a component of personal and racial experiences with creative purpose as his leading function and characteristic.

AN INTEGRATION OF INTERPRETATIONS.—All of the schools of thought have made useful and worth-while contributions to psychology. The fact that different schools have arisen is a sign of healthy growth of a new science. As time passes the theories projected will be subjected to proof, the methods employed will be more scientific, the different groups of thought will merge into one integrated and commonly accepted line of thought. It would be extremely unfortunate if the schools now existent were all to be rigidly formalized and if "disciples" of the founders should assemble in isolated and antagonistic camps. They have so much in common from a psychological point of view and the points of difference are so immaterial to the growth of the science that the particular emphasis of each must be regarded as of value to the whole.

Within each of the schools there are many different types. There are several different kinds of behaviorists. J. B. Watson is a representative of the extremists, while R. S. Woodworth, if a behaviorist at all, can be so classified only by a very broad definition of terms. There are also at least four types of psychoanalysts. While the late G. Stanley Hall and others including Wm. McDougall subscribe to certain principles of psychoanalysis, they cannot properly be called psychoanalysts.

Man is a creator, not in the sense that he is able to make something out of nothing, but certainly from the point of view that he possesses the unique power to combine experiences in new ways. The real man who can think, deliberate, and choose is what he is regardless of the explanation which may be offered for him. There is no proof for complete determinism any more than there is proof for absolute self-determination.

There is a growing tendency to recognize man as a unitary organism acting as a whole with a remarkable coördination, purpose, and sense of control. The individual is something more than merely the sum of microscopic parts of which he is composed. All of the tendencies, desires, and impulses which are back of his behavior exist in an integrated form, functioning together, not as notes and phrases in isolation but as a symphony. If this fact is kept in mind, analyses are of value, as with the structuralists, although the chief emphasis for practical psychology must be in terms of function.

The broader definition of behavior which includes glandular activity and neural activity as on a par with motor activity gives a much more logical and useful interpretation of conscious states, especially with regard to the emotions and the relationship between physical and mental life. In the light of this, both objective and subjective methods of studying mental processes are valid. Some facts of consciousness cannot be studied except through introspection.

The science of psychology is not concerned with the study of philosophy, however much it may contribute to it. As a consequence, questions regarding the ultimate nature of mind and the person are of no immediate significance. The observed facts of human behavior are the same regardless of whether the individual is an original creative power or a puppet. There is no doubt that behavior takes place in accordance with fairly well known principles or laws, and that it is subject to hereditary and environmental influences.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. When one is a disciple of a certain school of thought show how apperception is brought into operation. Would there be a greater tendency toward inductive or deductive reasoning? Would you expect any rationalization on his part?
2. Is disagreement among psychologists a sign that psychology is not a science? Give your reasons.
3. Some individuals feel that it is an act of sacrilege to make a scientific investigation of the action of the human mind. What are the causes of this point of view?
4. Show how it is possible for one to accept some elements of

all of the various schools of thought. Analyze your own point of view and attempt to give your own classification.

5. Study the discussion of introspection in Chapter I and analyze the behavioristic point of view in the light of it.
6. Would you encourage a young man or woman to become an exclusive disciple and ally of one of these schools while young? On what grounds do you base your answer?

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Part II

PSYCHOLOGY RELATED TO FIELDS AND TOPICS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Man himself is the crowning wonder of creation; the study of his nature the noblest study the world affords.

Gladstone

CHAPTER XIV

ATTITUDES, IDEALS, AND PREJUDICES

A man's ideal, like his horizon, is constantly receding from him as he advances toward it.

W. G. T. SHEDD

Every one is forward to complain of the prejudices that mislead other men and parties . . . every man should let alone others' prejudices and examine his own.

JOHN LOCKE

IMPORTANCE OF ATTITUDES.—Attitudes are of the greatest importance to the character of an individual. They are the key to his behavior, both real and potential. No adequate understanding of a person may be had except through a thorough knowledge of the attitudes he possesses, how these attitudes developed, and with what power they operate. No adequate guidance of leadership of another may be exercised except through the development of certain attitudes. One's whole philosophy of life or outlook on life is a matter of attitudes which have been formed, whether it be that of the incurable cynic, or of the most trusting and optimistic believer in life. They largely determine the whole personality and contribute greatly to individual destinies.

The attitudes which one holds in common with others make for common social life, and are the bases of all coöperation and social solidarity. The greatest problem that any organized society has to face is that of securing and maintaining social attitudes among its members such that the highest social good is fostered. For example, a self-centered attitude is a disintegrative force in any community. Science, with all of its remarkable advances through research and invention may be used to destroy civilization or to aid the interests of human welfare, depending upon the attitudes of those who hold the knowledge and the power.

WHAT IS AN ATTITUDE?—"Attitude" is another term that suffers from a variety of meanings. P. M. Symonds has noted seven such definitions ranging from its analysis as a specific motor function, to association with general ideas. A good general definition is: a mental set or state of readiness or of unreadiness which predisposes one toward or against any particular person, object, idea, feeling, or action. The attitude may be rather fleeting, but is usually recognized as fairly stable and lasting. It is hardly conceivable that any experience of life is altogether lacking in influence upon attitudes. One is seldom if ever truly neutral regarding the materials of experience or impending experiences. Whether one realizes it or not, tendencies exist as a prominent factor of behavior in relation to all experience.

An adequate description of attitudes must recognize their motor character. They are even more dynamic than attention, for in addition to the regard which is given a stimulus or situation, there is the tendency to react in a certain way in relation to it. This tendency to act is determined by feelings of pleasantness or unpleasantness in this relation. If one is faced with some object which is loathsome or disgusting to him, he draws back, may extend his arm to cut off the sight of it or to ward off contact with it, and may have tingling sensations of muscle strain even to his finger tips. The attitude here lies, not in the actual motor reactions, but in the tendency to action, whether such a tendency be fulfilled in overt activity or only as strains and tensions. To another the object may be, not disgusting or abhorrent, but very attractive and pleasing.

In addition to the *motor* and *feeling* elements, there are definite *ideational* elements in attitude. One has attitudes which predispose him to remember, imagine, and think along lines which have proved to be pleasant, or to avoid all mental activity in these fields because it is distinctly unpleasant. An idea may have just as strong feelings and attitudes associated with it as any motor activity. In the same sense one may be predisposed toward or away from an emotional reaction.

ATTITUDES AND LEARNING.—One's present attitude is the result of previous learning, and subject to modification as is all learned behavior. The way one tends to act, to display emotion, to think, or to restrain such behavior is the result of accumulated experiences. The laws of learning hold true here. The perceptual background is highly significant. The associations which one has made between objects and experiences of his life determine his attitude toward any of them at any moment. The meaning that such material has for one fixes his attitude, and as this meaning changes the attitude must likewise be modified to some extent. A child for the first time saw a snake, stretched upon the lawn. He was very interested and pleased, and proceeded to pet the animal as he had become accustomed to treat his cat. Suddenly his mother came rushing from the house, screaming at the top of her voice, and in every way giving evidence of extreme fear as she snatched the child away, later telling him how terrible snakes are. The child's attitude is now completely changed. Not only does he henceforth avoid all snakes; he tends toward distinct emotions of fear on seeing them, and even finds his thoughts and imaginations colored by the experience. The result would have been similar, and possibly no more intense, had the snake turned upon him and bitten him.

Warren states, that an attitude is "the manner in which an individual receives experiences, so far as this is determined by the deep, lasting traces left in the nervous structure by frequent repetition of experiences of the same fundamental type." [1] Repetition is not always necessary if the experience be vivid enough. According to this definition, it can be seen than any habit of feeling, thinking, or acting may lead to an attitude in the face of a particular situation. Whether such an attitude is strong or weak, of passing significance or quite permanent significance in the personality of an individual depends upon the strength and vividness of the related habits that have been formed.

Life is never at a standstill. Reactions are constantly being made and remade. Knowledge is being gained, interests are taking root, and attitudes are developing. These changes are taking place whether one wills it or no, with or without his conscious participation, as a result of deliberate guidance by others or without such guidance.

SOME WAYS IN WHICH ATTITUDES ARE MANIFESTED.—The range of attitudes and the number of ways in which they may be presented are practically infinite. They characterize all phases of normal life and introduce one as well into the field of the abnormal. There are numberless ways in which they may be classified. A few instances must suffice.

The instinctive tendencies provide a rich source of attitudes. The fundamental needs of human life predispose individuals toward certain lines of thought, feeling, and action. General attitudes of competition, curiosity, humanity, and similar states often are traceable directly to such native tendencies as modified by experience. The attitude toward particular objects is in terms of the use to which they may be put in satisfying basic hungers.

Interests are attitudes, whether they be immediately instinctive or acquired. They indicate a predisposition to behave in a certain way, and to resist an opposite line of behavior. A youth is interested in artistic endeavor. His attitude toward such simple objects as pencils, ink, brushes, paint, and canvas is thereby predetermined favorably in such a way as would not have been possible without this general interest. In case the interest in art dies out, the attitude toward all subsidiary objects changes. If the youth is denied an opportunity to indulge his interest through long years, he may eventually experience a reversion in interest, and then has an attitude of revulsion against all objects connected with art, including art exhibits. Early interest in religion may be killed by unfortunate experiences in relation to it, with the result that the attitude toward all things associated with religious life becomes negative rather than positive, including churches, ministers, sacred books, and ceremonies, as well as creeds. Such attitudes may never be eliminated.

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[1] H. C. Warren, *Human Psychology* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1922), p. 396.

A knowledge of the emotional background of an individual is very revealing as to his present attitudes. Such a knowledge is very difficult, and sometimes impossible to secure. It is seldom that one can trace an attitude back through the complex patterns of experience to its source. A lady of mature years found she had a great fear of being smothered. She had a definite attitude of revulsion against shut-in places, crowds, and bad air. A cold in the head or on the chest caused her unusual worry and dread. An analysis of her case revealed the most likely source of her difficulty as a bad attack of whooping-cough when she was seven years old. A man who was in every way apparently normal manifested a great fear of fire. The slightest blaze would be sufficient to make him gasp, tremble, and even flee from the scene. These reactions were found to be attributable to an experience which he had when but five years old, when he was severely burned in a small fire while at play. Such emotional disturbances frequently become the leads toward extreme manias which characterize insanity.

An attitude which is definitely fixed by native temperament plus training may become the dominating characteristic of an individual's personality. A misanthrope, one who hates his fellowman as a whole, is to be pitied rather than blamed, for the attitude which he takes is the result of certain experiences which have permanently impressed him. A philanthropist, who loves mankind, may, in the same way, be a product of preceding forces, and he may be held up as an example for others to follow, thus becoming, in his turn, a force for good.

It is very difficult to describe a personality fully, but often certain attitudes are so outstanding as to make a description comparatively easy. Characters in literature and the drama are usually clearly portrayed and distinguished from others by the presentation of definite attitudes. For example, Miss A. is a charming personality, kindly, tolerant, humorous, charitable, and altogether a most unusual combination of strength and sweetness. In speaking of an old friend she says, "I have always admired her graciousness." In these words she reveals the fact that she has so admired the quality of graciousness that she has always been in a state of readiness to perceive gracious acts. In contrast there is Miss L., ambitious, clever, and industrious, but tending to be unhappy. The cause of this unhappiness is difficult to discover until she is heard to say, "It is not fair that fate has always been against me. I have never had the good fortune of my friends." Of these two characters Miss A. had encountered by far the most difficult situations. Death, poverty, and illness had all entered into her struggle, but her attitude toward life as something to be met with graciousness and good will had given her charitable strength. With Miss L., on the other hand, the feeling of unfairness in particular situations had been so reenforced and strengthened by her general attitude that it had colored all of her experiences.

Attitudes may characterize and dominate large groups as well as individuals. History is replete with instances. The courage, endurance, devotion, and loyalty of the Jesuit missionaries, and their unquestioning obedience, furnish a striking illustration of the driving force of a religious attitude. The early Christians were dominated by their attitude toward life as at best a transitory thing and only an introduction to a blissful eternal existence. Consequently the most extreme persecution was cheerfully and even joyfully endured by the martyrs.

IDEALS.—*Ideals* are complexes of attitudes which have special reference to goals of conduct. They have a strong emotional background, are characterized by tendencies to act in line with the ideal, and to make concrete the more or less abstract concept that is held. They may be very general in nature covering a multitude of specific acts, or themselves be related directly to specific acts. As is true of all attitudes, they may or may not be translated into actual conduct. One may have a general ideal of honesty which would tend to impel him to leave alone all property which does not belong to him, another holds such an ideal relative only to pieces of money, yet both may steal money on occasion if not habitually.

An ideal has a moral significance. It is esteemed as the right line of action. Any contrary act is regarded as wrong. This means that a more or less definite judgment of worth has been rendered. Wrong conduct can often be attributed to a lack of right ideals which are effective. Reasons inducing one to violate the ideals which he holds are: (1) The ideal may not be strong enough in emotional significance to be an adequate motivation in the face of other lines of action; (2) the ideal is usually abstract and indefinite in contrast with a very concrete act or acts which promise a yield of very tangible results. Often the specific act is performed without any recognition of its relationship to the ideal of which it is really a species, and consequently without any sense of violation; (3) the ideal is commonly a more or less remote good, accompanied with remote rewards and values and hence may not be able to compete with the immediate interest which promises a direct return; and (4) the ideal may be one which has never had any personal significance to the individual, being held merely as one might remember nonsense material; thus the child may memorize the Ten Commandments parrotlike, but be quite lacking in the definition of the specific items or a sense of their specific bearing on his particular behavior.

An ideal is made more effective through the building of a body of knowledge underlying it. Knowledge in itself is no substitute for an attitude but it may prove a remarkable aid in the establishing of definite attitudes. This may come through personal experience, or be imparted by others in a vivid manner. A knowledge of the whole theory of property and property rights, the sportsmanship of fair dealing, and the evils of parasitism, together with illustrations of thievery and the bad results, gives a background of meaning to the injunction, "Thou shalt not steal."

There is a stabilizing influence in what may be considered indirect ideals. One might take money which did not belong to him were it not for the fact that he has a general ideal of family dignity to which he feels he must be loyal, or a sense of social responsibility involving the welfare of others who might follow his example. Thus ideals which are apparently unrelated may reënforce each other.

Ideals have strength only as they eventuate in action which is in harmony with them. One may hold an ideal throughout life without giving it form in behavior, but it will constantly grow less and less effective as time goes on in the way of providing impulses and tendencies to behavior. Every individual should be given opportunity and encouragement in translating any right ideal which he holds into real action, and experiencing the satisfaction which results.

One frequently meets with cases in which a person holds an ideal which he esteems right but which is in direct opposition to the general social ideal. Such individualistic ideals are most exasperating, especially when sincerely held. It is seldom that the individual ideal is right, but it may be so, and the need for tolerance is suggested. A primary rule is that one must be true to himself. Great world leaders have followed this pathway to success. There is optimism in the thought that such an individual "cannot be false to any man," and in any case the ideal must prove itself socially valuable if it is to be acceptable.

Ideals often come into conflict. In this case choices must be made. Thus one may yield his ideal of peace in the face of the patriotic ideal in time of war, or vice versa. The story, "The Other Wise Man" by Henry Van Dyke, has as a central motive the conflict of the ideal of truth and the ideal of humaneness, in the crisis where a simple falsehood would save the life of the infant Jesus. In such cases the involved ideals may merely be reëvaluated, or they may be reformed. Such conflicts are real tests of ethical judgment.

The fact that ideals change need not be distressing to anyone. They are subject to modification as are all other forms of habit. It is fortunate that this is so, for the sake of individual and social progress. It is equally fortunate that they do not fluctuate readily; that they thereby provide a stability to life and progress which would otherwise be lacking. They change not only in content, but also in form. Experience gives them new meanings. The very concrete and specialized ideals of childhood become more generalized and abstract as time goes on. Man's life is purposive and forward-looking. When one goal or ambition as represented by an ideal is achieved, new goals are set.

APPRECIATIONS.—Appreciations in the fields of art, music, literature, nature, social life, and religion, as well as many others, provide a range and variety of attitudes which are the source of much richness and enjoyment for the individual and for general social culture. These are comparatively simple and primary attitudes, chiefly characterized by emotional reactions involving ideas of value. They may lead to action in the field of interest, but may exist quite independently of any such activity. If one is listening to a musical composition with appreciation, he is not immediately concerned with reproduction, but only with absorbing. There is a motor element in the concentration of attention and possibly in the rhythmic bodily movements induced, but the chief aspect is that of the play of feelings which are aroused. Ideas of relationship between various parts of the composition may be elicited, and the imagination stimulated. Values are directly perceived, not achieved through any elaborate process of reasoning.

There is little if any moral connotation to appreciations. There is no necessity of moral judgment. The presentation is valued for its own sake, not in terms of any ultimate action. Appreciations play a major part in the determination of ideals and their effectiveness, however. An ideal gains immeasureably when there is a true appreciation of many involved factors. One cannot bring himself to the ignoble task of profiting at the expense of widows and orphans if he has any adequate appreciation of human rights, or human suffering.

The appreciation of beauty is closely akin to the sense of moral values when properly extended and developed. The cruel act, war, murder, suicide, burglary, hatred, and countless similar elements of behavior are recognized, not merely as immoral, but as ugly and unaesthetic types of behavior. They are regarded as discordant elements in the otherwise harmonious compositions of life. It has been argued that beauty can readily take the place of the moral concept. This may be true in the largest analysis, and one is reminded of the ancient philosophical affinity between the Good, the Beautiful, and the True, but such a deviation is hardly necessary. The concept of beauty may, however, be used as a very valuable supplement and even complement of moral ideals.

An over-emphasis on techniques may deaden appreciation. However, a knowledge of the difficulties encountered by the artist, the message he is attempting to convey, the form that he is using in the portrayal of this message, and similar matters, when presented at the proper time and in language suited to the stage of development of the individual, is a remarkable aid to appreciation. An appreciation of songs is gotten at the early stages, not through analysis, but through actual singing with freedom and enthusiasm.

PREJUDICES.—The term "prejudice" has acquired a thoroughly bad name. As a matter of fact every attitude that is taken, simple or complex, is in itself either a prejudice, or indicates the existence of a prejudice. One cannot hold an ideal without being prejudiced against its opposite. The prejudice obtains in the exact strength of the corresponding attitude. One may have a strong prejudice against flies, a stronger one against mosquitos, and a yet stronger one against snakes.

Some consider a prejudice offensive because it is a prejudgment. But all attitudes are prejudgments in the sense that one approaches a specific situation with a tendency to it which is favorable or unfavorable, depending upon past experience. One may fall into the error of blaming all others who fail to agree with him for their prejudice, but in no way recognizing his own attitude as a prejudice.

The term "prejudice" is commonly used to refer especially to mental attitudes which are taken without thought and which, furthermore, are more or less static, the individual being characterized by lack of open-mindedness. The newness of a concept is no criterion of its truth. The old prejudice may excel the "new conceit" in truth. The bad feature in the former lies in its dogmatism, its attitude of resistance to change. Prejudice may shut out the truth, dim "the brightest and best of good and glorious objects," and lead to error. Foretaken opinions lead to wrong judgments of motives, characters, and events. Let a minister or other social worker be informed of the foibles of the members of a group with whom he is soon to become associated, and he will find it most difficult to rid himself of these impressions and see the individuals in a good light. Reputation and notoriety are merely widespread prejudices for or against certain individuals. They tend to cloud the judgment.

Prejudices of this nature are true habits of thinking and feeling. They hold an individual rather than being held by him. When definitely confirmed they are as hard to change as any physical habit, until one's old age may become a true maze of error. A prejudice may become one of the strongest forces in life. One may fight for its perpetuation with the greatest violence, and identify it with his own existence.

Ignorance is a most prolific source of prejudice of the dogmatic type. Consequently narrowness and provincialism in experience conduces to prejudices which yield only to true education. Goethe has said, "He that never leaves his own country is full of prejudices." National antipathies give way to travel. Religious and sectarian prejudices are weakened and elimininated by social association and coöperation. One looks through a false medium of local personal experience which has aroused a prejudice, and the entire field of vision is colored by it; having detected an evil act in another he can henceforth find no redeeming virtue in the man.

It is commonly recognized that prejudices are seldom overcome by reason. This is because they are often not gotten through reason, but by emotional appeal, and also are not susceptible to change. The mind may become utterly impervious to new truth or fact, and in this sense prejudice may be spoken of as wilful ignorance—"None so blind as those that will not see."

MENTAL RESULTS OF VIOLATION OF ATTITUDES.—Any form of attitude is a tension or a tendency to act or otherwise behave. An individual is in a state of adjustment which may or may not be completed. If not, there is a sense of loss or incompleteness which is unpleasant; in some instances decidedly so. The demand for readjustment, often involving as it does, an extensive and diverse coördination of glandular and muscular organs, gives mingled sensations and emotional responses which are very striking. *Disappointment* is of this type. One has attitudes tending toward a certain activity. When the attitudes are not fulfilled, the mingled anger and sorrow are often very intense, even leading to suicide.

The *conscience* is a phenomenon which is similarly explained. When an ideal is ignored, and especially when it is violated in one's action there is a sense of disappointment in oneself, together with self blame and the imagined accusation of the one injured, or the one whose authority has been disregarded. The unpleasant character of this experience makes it of great significance in aiding moral conduct.

In all attitudes involving action or belief it is disagreeable to note anyone else violating the personal attitude which one holds. This is the basis of all *intolerance*. This may range from contempt and disgust through enmity to actual alarm or sorrow. It is difficult to conceive that anyone else can sincerely or consistently take a contrary attitude. Intolerance is notable in the field of ideals, especially in matters where the emotions have large significance. Wherever there is enthusiasm for or against a cause, intolerance is a natural consequence. Let a person be convinced that an opposite point of view or attitude may be the correct one, and something of his own burning enthusiasm is lost. The dogmatism involved in intolerance may be lessened or eliminated, and prejudice ruled out by a scientific attitude which firmly expresses a conviction based upon facts discovered up to the present time, although admitting the possibility of modification as further facts are discovered. This allows for change and progress without loss of vital earnestness or of the respect of others.

Training in Attitudes.—There is no adequate short cut to the development of attitudes. They must come through experiences which leave traces in habitual tendencies. The doing of a certain act with consequent satisfaction strengthens the accompanying attitude, and predisposes to further behavior of the same type. Attitudes of reverence, devotion, and loyalties to high concepts, great characters, and righteous causes may be wrought into human nature and tied up with conduct.

Since the early experiences of childhood are formative and fundamental in the highest degree, it follows that the earlier years in the home and the school transcend all others in importance. Ideals in harmony with the good life can be best developed in these years. Approvals for the right things and disapproval for the wrong will leave their impress indelibly on the child's mind and action. The task is tremendously facilitated by leading the child to talk and to read about the good, and to do it, in a congenial social environment. Contact with beautiful pictures, architecture, and music leave a permanent impress in appreciations and ideals. Many attitudes are taken and ideals acquired quite incidentally; others are attained through definitely supervised activity and guidance of thought. There are certain basal ideas and ideals which must be stamped with approval from the start, with no assumption that they are even debatable. They are fundamental postulates or axioms of moral law. The Golden Rule is of this nature. Prejudices against murder, stealing, and aggressive war should be similarly emphasized.

A distinction should be made between general and specific attitudes with a full recognition of the part that each plays, and neither should be neglected. The general ideal is built up out of very specific attitudes toward particular situations, and the wider this range of experience the more controlling and expansive is the general ideal. The ideal may, however, become so vague as to be ineffective in a particular situation unless detailed applications are constantly emphasized. The specific attitude is the test of the general ideal.

Respect for law is one of the major problems of any society, and offers a good illustration of involved principles and methods. Wherever there is a widespread disrespect for law, one can safely assume that no adequate general ideal obtains. The multiplication of laws with no rigid enforcement of any of them makes for widespread disrespect for all law. This exists to such an extent in the United States as to give it an unenviable reputation. The public school and the home are at fault in not having developed the proper ideals in childhood. The emphasis on individualism which prevails has interfered with the growth of social attitudes. One cannot foster the growth of the proper ideals of citizenship in children if he openly and flagrantly violates automobile traffic laws. One finds it difficult to teach the ideals of social coöperation and honesty in a society in which competition and shady dealings are given respect and are rewarded with financial success. Violation of the demands of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution are not so much due to the law itself, as they are a symptom of the common disrespect for law. Sympathy with such violations and the violators is one of the greatest incentives to further violation. If a small fraction of the energy now devoted by newspaper editors and other social leaders to showing the futility of enforcement were spent on developing the proper respectful attitude toward the law, the problem would soon be satisfactorily solved. Education should not only precede the legislation so as to make the law possible, but should constantly go on so as to make the law effective.

The question arises as to what attitudes should be built into the lives of individuals. They are numberless. Voelker[2] sets forth and discusses twelve general ideals which he believes should be the goal in all social education. These are:

1. Trustworthiness
2. Loyalty
3. Social service
4. Social sympathy
5. Social conscience
6. Social coöperation
7. Social initiative
8. Social justice
9. Social control
10. Tolerance
11. Reverence
12. Faith

In the process of incorporating such a body of attitudes and ideals into the thought, feeling, and conduct of an individual or a group, so that they become driving and controlling forces in life, the laws of learning must be used, including readiness, exercise and effect. Any subject of study should contribute, not merely to knowledge and skill, but also to attitudes which make for social progress. This fact has been greatly neglected in the program of the public school. In truth the program has often been conducive to the formation of wrong attitudes.

Voelker has given additional suggestions, among which may be listed:

1. Social attitudes should be taught in a social environment.
2. They should be built up within the individual or group, and not be imposed from without.
3. They are best attained through grappling with vital problems.
4. There should be group motivation.
5. The attitudes desired should be concrete in the personality of the teacher or leader.
6. Mottoes and slogans aid in fixing goals when properly used.
7. The attitudes are strengthened through emotional experiences.
8. The virtues which are upheld should be expected and required to give actual evidence in conduct.

[2] P. Voelker, *The Function of Attitudes and Ideals in Social Education* (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1921).

Questions and Exercises

1. Is sincerity an attitude? Explain your answer. Is sincerity a dependable insurance of correct behavior? Can it be depended upon to lead to the truth?
2. Cite examples of common food prejudices and race prejudices. Note in each case whether it had its origin in some rational cause or not.
3. Note the importance of tradition as a determinant of prejudices and attitudes in matters of religion and politics.
4. Describe and explain the mental state which results when one does not appreciate a great work of art, music or literature as he is "supposed" to appreciate it.
5. Discuss the matter of hypocrisy in relation to attitudes, especially ideals. Why and how does it originate, what are its chief characteristics, and how may it be overcome?
6. Discuss attitudes in relation to the law of readiness in learning. Do you think learning would be improved by (1) directing attention to specific items? (2) knowing one is to be tested on the learned material? (3) knowing that one is doing poorly, or well? (4) knowing values to be achieved by the learning carried on? (5) worrying?
7. Review what has been said about transfer of training and then state under what conditions ideals are transferred. Is it likely that appreciation of good music will automatically transfer to the field of art?

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CHAPTER XV

IMITATION AND INITIATIVE

> Originality is nothing but judicious imitation. The most original writers borrowed from one another. The instruction we find in books is like fire. We fetch it from our neighbor's, kindle it at home, communicate it to others, and it becomes the property of all.
>
> VOLTAIRE

ANY specific act of behavior of any individual is commonly thought of as either borrowed or original. Whether one considers the field of thought, emotion, or motor activity, the terms are considered to be in opposition or conflict and to be mutually exclusive. It is usually felt that the one who habitually *imitates* the behavior of others is of a distinctly lower type than he who has a strong sense and power of *initiative*. As a matter of fact the two attitudes and types of behavior are closely united and supplemental to each other. The apparent difference in the two in any case is a matter of emphasis. The proper goal is not the elimination of either, but a harmonious integration of the two.

THE MEANING OF IMITATION.—There are various definitions of imitation, but all recognize the universal, instinctive basis, however much this may be altered by environment and training. It is the tendency of one individual to be stimulated by the behavior of another, and to respond by similar behavior so that the natural outcome is a uniformity of behavior. In a broader sense one may imitate other models than human conduct, such as animal behavior, or natural phenomena. The tendency itself is instinctive. What is to serve as the stimulus and as a pattern of reaction is a matter of accident of environment. Imitative action is but a method of expressing many instinctive tendencies. Some authorities have recognized a pure instinct of imitation as such. Thorndike, however, believes that specific acts of imitation are in no sense mechanically fixed, as with the eye-reflex, but are dependent on associations learned.[1]

IMITATION AND CONSCIOUSNESS.—It is evident that much imitative behavior is effected without any conscious recognition of the act. Thus the small child may imitate his father's walk, and learns to speak the language forms as they are used in the home. The character of the child with regard to moral and religious practices and beliefs is shaped by his associations. Attitudes, ideals, and prejudices are greatly determined through social heredity by imitation, with no thought of the goal, or the process.

Imitation may be very deliberate and purposeful. The child who is striving to duplicate a model in handwriting is usually conscious of the specific effort and goal. Much learning, especially in the more mature years is of this type, whether one is learning French pronunciation or the techniques of golf. Although there is much trial and error learning in imitation, the latter is in distinct contrast, in that there is specific guidance and elimination of wrong practice. Imitation of this type involves the existence of a concrete model, usually in personal teaching activity.

Which of the two is the better, the spontaneous, or the deliberate; the incidental or the planned, can be determined only relative to the situation. Detailed skills of any sort, especially those involving mental activity, can be imitated only by careful attention and directed observation. In many instances the attempt to control the imitative activities of children fail because of resentment of authority. The same model placed before them without comment may cause an interest and provoke a conscious or unconscious attempt at imitation. "You should try to be as good as John" is not ordinarily provocative of better behavior. Constant association with John under normal conditions will influence conduct and ideals the more effectively because it is not a matter of conscious thought.

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[1] E. L. Thorndike, *The Original Nature of Man* (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1913), p. 120.

Importance of Imitation.—It is through imitation that social heredity operates. The customs, traditions, and beliefs of one generation are passed on to the next through imitation. This is usually effected by absorption from early years on, with little deliberate attempt to imitate behavior of any type. The acceptance of folkways is made as a rule without question or protest. The mores and moral ideals of a people tend toward stability as long as they continue a pure stock and no contrary ideals intrude from foreign sources to stimulate conflicting imitative tendencies. A nation which is a "melting pot" is not characterized by stability.

A much greater share of one's actual learning comes through imitation than is ordinarily recognized. It is sometimes very difficult to discover which traits that an individual possesses are inherited and which are acquired by means of imitation. A child may so greatly resemble a parent as to tempt the judgment that he has a marked inheritance from the parent, when in reality real hereditary traits are few in number. The similarity is due to the multitude of mannerisms which have been acquired through imitation. It is seldom clear how much of the individual's intelligence may be ascribed to his heritage and how much to his constant association with his parents during his early formative years. On the other hand, a child who conducts himself differently than his parents and who has imitated a contrary ideal from some outside source is considered a variant from his parent stock, however much his specific traits and capacities resemble those of his parents.

One's body of ideals and habits of conduct are for the most part acquired incidentally, being assimilated in much the same way as the language. "Evil communications corrupt good manners" is a maxim which recognizes this principle. Hawthorne's immortal story of the Great Stone Face is an attempt to show how a boy is influenced by the constant presence of a noble and worthy model. It is for this reason that communities rightly demand that the teachers in their schools shall be worthy models of right conduct. One tends to imitate in conduct the one whom he admires. The father who is his son's ideal has a social responsibility as a model of behavior. The gamin of the city streets takes on the dress and bearing as well as the mannerisms of the district gangster. The motion picture star is mirrored in the behavior of the boy on the playground, with his lariat, his toy revolver, his swagger, and his picturesque language. The tendency to ape or mimic is present to some degree in all, but is much more prominent in some individuals than in others.

Specific training likewise depends greatly on imitation. The style of delivery of many preachers and other public speakers has usually been greatly influenced by that of other speakers whom they have deliberately taken as models. The writer may study very carefully the language usage and organization of another writer and undertake to master his techniques. A Fagin may direct an Oliver Twist in the delicate skill of picking pockets by demonstrating the unsocial art in all of its details and drilling him on exact imitation. The player in the orchestra develops new skills in manipulating his instrument through taking lessons from a master and imitating his unique methods.

Social groups are often made more uniform and united through imitation. Members of a boy's gang resemble one another in many ways in their common effort to emulate the leader. Schools of thought develop, and are chiefly characterized by adherents who strive to adopt the thought of a teacher who represents their common ideal. Sectarian groups copy their founders in simplicity of dress and ceremonial practices, as well as in matters of belief. The mode of dress of a certain period, set by some arbiter of fashion, becomes so universal as to make all individuals appear to have been set in a common mold.

SYMPATHY.—The term *sympathy* has as its generic meaning "fellow feeling" or "feeling in common with." Broadly interpreted it includes more than merely emotional interest. The basic characteristic of sympathy is the sense of *identification.* In one aspect at least the individual appears to lose his separate individuality and to become a part of what he perceives.

A common experience is to identify oneself with an object. For this reason one finds an object or picture of an object which is in perfect balance and stability pleasing, in distinct contrast to one which is in danger of falling. A tall object such as a church spire has an exalting effect upon those who see it. One tends to copy in his own movements the curves in a thrown bowling ball, or to reverse the movements in case it goes from its course as though such movements would control it. A swiftly moving object quickens the physical activity and stimulates the mind. The personification of objects is a tendency among the primitives. "To him who in the love of Nature, holds communion with her visible forms, she speaks a various language." Identification is at the basis of imitation.

The drama, novels, paintings, illustrations, and motion pictures gain greatly in power and significance because of this tendency as applied to other individuals instead of objects. One tends to identify himself with the hero, and, at least for the time being, to merge his own feelings and ideas with those of the hero as he is portrayed. Whether the mimic experience shall continue so as to impress the individual or not depends upon many factors such as age, interest, susceptibility to impression, and the strength of the presentation. In certain forms of mania and paranoiac insanity the patient believes himself to be a great character in history such as Napoleon, and apes this character as consistently as possible. The successful pulpit orator or other speaker is able to enlist the sympathy of the members of the audience, and lead them to an identification with the great leaders and ideals that he presents. True charity has its origin in real sympathy.

It is this loss of personal identity that makes mass movements of mankind possible. Crowds may be simply accidental groupings of mankind without organization or a common mind. But let these crowds have a common goal, or be activated by a common motive and they are welded into units. Revolutionary mobs are of this character. The members lose sight of their own individuality and strive to emulate each other and their leader in argument, hatred, and violence. A church congregation or membership gains immeasurably in concentrated strength when the individuals who compose it are united in a common cause.

Suggestion.—Suggestion denotes the process of communicating an idea or attitude from one individual to another, when the acceptance of the idea or attitude is made more or less uncritically. The term "suggestibility" refers to a state of readiness or mental set which is necessary in order that the suggestion may produce the result desired. The suggestion is the stimulus and imitation is the response. One who is susceptible to suggestion may find his whole horizon changed from one of gloom to one of cheer, or the reverse, by a casual remark of an associate. An optimistic view of a successful future may give way to dire forebodings because someone has prophesied disaster. Who has not had experiences with the "kill-joy"? Pessimists are often useful reminders against over-confidence, but are usually recognized as unwelcome intruders. Friends are selected on the basis of the type of response which they arouse in us.

The method of suggestion has been found very valuable in medical treatment. All are familiar with the story of the man who became very ill because of the remarks of his designing associates who, one after another, told him how badly he looked and inquired as to his health. The reverse process is equally possible. Many cures are brought about through suggestion. Faith-cures are of this type. The patient must have an attitude of confidence for most effective results. He must be ready to accept the statement or belief of another without question.

There is no scientific evidence that all diseases are susceptible to this type of treatment. Suggestion provides no cure for organic ailments which are independent of the control of the central nervous system. "The mind can cure what the mind has caused." Many functional diseases are the outcome of fears, inhibitions, restraints, and anticipations, and such disorders may be remedied by suggestion. Hypnosis increases the susceptibility of the patient to suggestion and hastens the cure.

Suggestion is a powerful aid in the formation of moral conduct and character. The common practice of parents which consists of informing the child that he "is a bad boy" can have no wholesome effect. The maxim which warns against giving "a dog a bad name" recognizes this fact. The positive emphasis which constantly points the way to the good life is effective.

Suggestibility varies according to age, race, health, general emotionality, sex, and education. As a rule the ignorant and non-reflective individual is more susceptible to suggestion than the mentally alert, well-educated individual who is given to reflection. Children are more suggestible than adults. One is more suggestible to the control of another who is recognized to have prestige or authority. A speaker who impresses his audience with his scholarship, strength and personality is able to command attention and secure a ready imitative response.

Initiative and Originality.—"Imitation is, after all, but one side of the mental process. The other side is origination, which is quite as real and demonstrable as imitation itself. Imitation is a mere schoolmaster to bring us to originality. The child, through imitating others, becomes aware of his own capacity for a wide variety of acts that he otherwise would have believed were beyond his powers; he finds that he is able to do what others do. In this way his own strength and skill and versatility are not only cultivated, but are revealed to himself. Imitation, then, even when we slavishly copy the acts of those near us, is all the while teaching us our own capacity." [2]

Originality is explained in much the same way as imagination. Models which are imitated are combined with each other or with preceding experiences and habits of the individual in new patterns of conduct. As a matter of fact the imitation is seldom if ever an exact replica of the model. There is always a tendency to depart from the copy to some extent; to modify it in terms of the interests and understandings of the individual at the moment; to adapt it to the demands of habits of thinking, feeling, or acting.

Although imitation is essential to development and economical learning, there is always the danger of overemphasis. Mere imitation alone, when universally practiced, without reflection or initiative would produce a dead uniformity. There could be neither social nor individual progress. One who has formed habits of slavish imitation of others, with no effort or practice in originality can never develop his individual personality. He lacks the joy of freedom and power which creation and creative activity give. Lacking initiative, he can never achieve a position of responsibility and leadership. The public speaker who copies in detail the style and thought of one he admires, without adapting them to his own personality, is at best unconvincing and lacking in real artistry. If one adopts the belief of another he he should do so only after full reflection, and feel free to modify this belief sincerely in the light of his own convictions. The proper restraint will prevent one from being swept away from his moorings by a storm of emotion among his fellows. One's conduct should always be expressive of his own personality if he is to be something more than a manikin.

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[2] G. M. Stratton, *Experimental Psychology and Culture* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1908), p. 222.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.—The child's impulse to do what others are doing needs careful guidance. It may be helpful in the building of a well-balanced life, or it may prove disastrous. Properly directed, it may foster the desire to be like the more ideal personalities. The tendency to hero-worship is universal and should be fostered, with the emphasis upon the right type of hero. If heroes like Edison, Pasteur, Grenfell, and Lindbergh are presented as examples, the boy will tend to imitate them.

The child's interests are changeable. Heroes are chosen and abandoned. The ideal of one age will have little or no appeal at another age. The mystical heroes of legendary history may be vivid enough for the child in the early teens, but an older youth will have nothing of them. In general, one must keep up to date on heroes who may be presented as exemplars. The child is more likely to be interested in what Babe Ruth did in the last baseball game than in the story of Cain and Abel, or of Horatius at the Bridge.

The associations which a child makes must be kept in mind. The boy is attracted by Jesse James because of his thrilling adventures, his bravery, and prowess. Overlooking the more humanitarian aspects of this outlaw's life he may then tend to imitate his cruelty and disrespect for law. Sometimes the imitation takes a most unexpected turn. A teacher told the story of David and Goliath to her pupils. What was her dismay the next day when the boys all came to school with slingshots. After surviving that day, the teacher determined never to tell the story again, or to place a different emphasis when telling it. The motion picture hero may shape a child's ideals, not merely toward heroic acts, but also, unfortunately, toward the use of guns, the drinking of whiskey, and gambling. The daily press devotes many pages of publicity, including pictures of the leading characters, to the story of a great criminal trial. Instead of being a deterrent of crime such procedure is a direct incentive to crime on the part of many unreflective individuals who see in a life of crime a sure road to a certain kind of fame. A youth in Hawaii commits a crime of kidnapping and murder of a small child, and then confesses that he received the suggestion from newspaper accounts of similar crimes committed in the States. He felt certain that he could execute it successfully.

One commonly encounters adults as well as children who are negatively suggestible. Whatever may be suggested to them or demanded of them in the way of conduct, they are determined to do the opposite. This is altogether a matter of defective training. Their individuality has been developed without reference to social coöperation, and without any restraint. In some cases they have come to regard all associates and authority as inimical. What is needed in their treatment is the development of a friendly coöperative attitude and the experience of discovery that response to suggestions may produce pleasant results.

Suggestion and imitation are social tendencies. Every individual exerts an influence for good or ill upon others with whom he comes in contact. Individual destinies are thereby determined. The inspiring personality of a teacher or leader is often more determining in its influence and lasting in its effect than the formal lessons which he directs. Enthusiasm is a dynamic motivating force. It is a contagious source of inspiration. Only an active mind can stimulate other minds to activity. A deep, broad, human sympathy tends to unite all followers in a coöperative effort. A keen sensitiveness to the other person's needs and point of view inspires a sense of loyalty. Only a deep-seated affection for others can foster such a sympathy. Emerson expressed this thought in his Plato: "If there is love between us, our intercourse will be profitable; if not, your time is lost and you will annoy me . . . all my good is magnetic, and I can educate, not by lessons, but by going about my business."

In all matters relating to suggestion the emphasis should be positive. Dr. Cheesman Herrick narrates a story of a somewhat irrepressible undergraduate at Oxford. A beautiful picture was presented to the young man and was hung in his room in a prominent place amidst a medley of cheap cuts and objectionable prints. One by one the gaudy favorites disappeared, and in time the beautiful picture was surrounded by others in harmony with it. In explanation, the young man said, "You see I really couldn't leave them up with that. The contrast was too dreadful. I didn't see it at first, but I suppose that looking at the picture opened my eyes till I could see it, and then, I tell you, those cheap prints came down in a hurry. It was the same way in putting up new pictures. That one set the standard, and I knew I couldn't have, and didn't want anything that wasn't in harmony with it."

Care must be taken to guard the natural creative tendencies of the individual. He should be led, not merely to imitate or reproduce, but to contribute something of his own personality to the reproduction. Only in this way can the involved effort take on any meaningful significance to him. Mere imitation of a ceremonial, an argument, or a mannerism, may be purely formal and perfunctory. When it is accepted and understood, and interpreted in the light of one's own experience it may become a vital force in life.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Give illustrations of learning in which imitation has definitely abridged the process and lessened the error.
2. Ben Jonson remarked of a college instructor of his whom he greatly loved and respected, "Whenever a man becomes Jorden's pupil he becomes his son." What attitude is here involved on the part of the teacher? Give instances of teachers holding a similar attitude and note their influence.
3. What is involved in the suggestions constantly given of the possibility and value of financial success with little or no attention paid as to ethics of the means by which success is attained?
4. Do you think children are sometimes born with a stronger initiative than others, or is it altogether a matter of training?
5. Give instances of great leaders whose careers have been determined by a casual contact with another or by some critical experience. Is it always easy to trace back one's present habits and tendencies to the suggestive force in which they originated? Explain.
6. Discuss the advantages of a pastor living in a community a great many years as against the practice of frequent changes; a teacher being promoted with her class. Under what conditions would this be advisable?

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CHAPTER XVI

VOLITION AND PERSONALITY

Great souls have wills; feeble ones have only wishes.
CHINESE PROVERB

Character is perfectly educated will.
NOVALIS

VIEWPOINTS REGARDING THE WILL.—It has been commonly thought that man by his very nature possesses an absolute will. He is considered to be a free-moral agent with powers of will which might rise above all limiting circumstances and overcome all obstacles and temptations. In case an individual meekly surrenders or yields in an emergency, he is blamed for his failure to exercise his will. In case he chooses the wrong one of two possible lines of action, his will is again held at fault. It has been recognized that one's destiny is dependent upon the strength and integrity of the will.

An opposing school of thought has presented the concept that man has no free-will; that whatever he does is predestined by the laws of nature. Those who hold this view attempt to show how every action can be traced to its cause which in turn relates to other preceding causes. Man is regarded, not as a free agent, but as a machine which is automatically adjusted to its environment, and is therefore freed from blame for his unworthy acts as well as undeserving of praise for his good behavior.

A mediating group admit that much of man's behavior is the result of hereditary traits which have been moulded and combined by environment and training, but believe that he possesses unique powers of decision which play a great part in determining his habits and his specific choices. Following the lead of Bergson, the French philosopher, some regard man as containing within himself a portion of the original creative power of the universe.

As a matter of fact, this is a philosophical rather than a psychological problem. It is of interest to the psychologist in so far as certain schools of psychology tend toward a mechanistic concept and others toward that of spontaneous freedom. Furthermore, the settlement of this question would determine the part that blame and praise should take in relation to human conduct. One may take a dogmatic stand on either side of the controversy, but neither one of the extreme points of view has as yet been proved. The burden of proof appears to rest upon those who would do away with the will as an active force. William James recognized the difficulties involved and stated his pragmatic view, that man would continue to believe in his personal freedom and act as though he were free, regardless of facts which might be established to the contrary. The will is certainly as real to every individual as any other experience that enters into consciousness.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATION OF THE WILL AND VOLITION.—Will refers to action. One wills to behave in a certain way, whether in matters of thought, feeling, or action. Volition is the process of making decisions or choices when several different lines of behavior are possible. These choices may relate to immediate or future conduct. Voluntary behavior reactions stand in distinct contrast to involuntary actions of the reflex, impulsive type, as well as to non-voluntary responses which take place as a matter of thoroughly automatized and habitual behavior, for in neither of these is any choice necessary. No alternative possibilities occur in consciousness.

A prominent characteristic of volition is deliberation. This may exist at all stages of complexity, from simple discrimination and single judgments to elaborate trains of logical thought. This means that the reaction is delayed for a shorter or longer period. If conflicting lines of possible behavior never occurred in the imaginal life of an individual, there would be no volition. But wherever such possibilities do occur no action can take place until a choice has been made, however simple it may be. Reasoning of some kind plays its part in the determination of such a choice.

Volition is the process of weighing. On the basis of past experience, direct or indirect, as pictured in memory or habit, one arrives at a more or less complex judgment of value, and imaginatively projects this into the future so that he can foresee and estimate the outcomes from following a certain line of behavior. Each of the possible alternatives is thus evaluated, and the one which promises the greatest good in terms of the interests, attitudes, and ideals of the individual is selected, while all others are discarded. It is frequently necessary to effect a compromise between alternatives and accept elements from both to make a new component.

Feelings and emotions play a large part in volition. One is predisposed toward or away from certain lines of behavior on the basis of the emotional effect produced by past experience, or feelings of pleasantness or unpleasantness which have been associated with them. Memories of the past are often freighted with emotional meaning, and recall may tend to arouse the same emotions and attitudes again. These are projected into the future and the choice is thereby influenced favorably or unfavorably. The attitudes of one's associates may stir one's emotion of fear of displeasing them, or may arouse an angry resentment and a desire to displease them. Having arrived at a decision, one commonly backs up the decision with show of emotional zeal, either in an offensive or defensive attitude.

A youth is tempted to steal. He is faced with the choice of stealing or being honest. He recalls the unhappy results of a previous day when he stole a small sum of money and was discovered; the punishment administered by parents, the humiliation of making restitution, and the threat of officers of the law. He lives over these scenes again and also remembers his "bad conscience" which gave him a sleepless night. He recognizes that all of his associates would deprecate his action and be ashamed of him in case they learned he was a thief. On the other hand he knows what desirable things may be bought with the money, and projects his imagination to form a picture of the enjoyment which these will give him. It is also probable that he can effect the theft so skilfully this time that he will not get caught, and the pleasure of outwitting the law by his own powers is a factor in the situation. Whether he elects to take a chance and be dishonest or to resist the temptation, feeling and emotion have swung the balances and have determined the values, although the process itself was rational. He makes a moral choice.

Volition is thus seen to be a very complex mental state when matters of great concern are being decided. In a sense, the entire individual enters into the making of a choice. Instinctive tendencies play their part, as do also all acquired patterns of behavior. Preceding choices and volitional habits are some of the determinants. Both general and specific intelligence are involved in the ability to remember, to imagine, to foresee, to abstract, to suspend judgments, and to evaluate the possible lines of activity. Many factors which operate automatically, or at best are merely in the fringe of consciousness, may direct the choice. For this reason, the use of the term "will" has been discredited in so far as it signifies a simple and single mental faculty or power.

Defective Volition.—Since intelligence and ability to reason are essential to volition, it is possible for a person to be lacking in capacity to make choices. The idiot is faced with no problems which involve decision between alternatives, and his behavior is determined by comparatively simple reflex reactions. The grade of mental ability which an individual possesses determines his capacity to will in so far as it relates to the range of choice and the complexity of the process made use of.

By far the greater proportion of cases of volitional deficiency may be attributed to habit formation. A child may be protected so that he never meets with any problems requiring decision. His parents or others solicitously care for his welfare and do all of his willing for him. He never finds it necessary to exert the mental effort which volition requires, hence acquires the habit of passively drifting and of dependence. When his guardianship is withdrawn, as eventually must be the case, he is left helpless and floundering in the midst of life's problems, in distinct contrast to the one who has been trained in meeting emergencies from the beginning.

Adults sometimes make the mistake of imposing their own will upon children by force to an extreme degree. Any tendency the child may have toward independent decision and action is completely smothered and even stamped out by punishment. Thus the child's will may be "broken." It is an art to make a child socially coöperative without brow-beating him into an habitual attitude of abject submission; a form of treatment which weakens him and unfits him for becoming an independent agent with a sense of responsibility for his own destiny.

A definite disease of the will is recognized, that of *aboulia.* This may come about as a result of nervous breakdown or as some defect in the central nervous system. One may lack the energy to apply himself with concentrated attention to a problem or be unable to work out the complex details of a solution. Although keenly recognizing the necessity for decision, he postpones the making of a choice interminably, and lets most problems of choice solve themselves. This defect may be induced by bitter experience. One makes numbers of important and critical decisions, each of which turns out badly. He not only becomes extremely self-conscious and introspectively gloomy, but he finds that his confidence in himself is shattered. He comes to avoid the making of decisions whenever possible, and to regret any decisions as soon as he makes them. He changes his mind frequently on any issue and becomes extremely vacillating. In extreme cases he reaches the point of complete inhibition and passivity in any critical situation, although he may suffer acutely from the clear consciousness of the need for decision and be tortured by the knowledge of his own deficiency. In case there is no central defect, an individual may be cured of aboulia by patient treatment in which he is led to make simple decisions which turn out successfully until confidence is reborn.

An intelligent individual may be so "mental" as to be markedly inefficient in volition, in contrast with the "practical" man of affairs of definitely inferior general mental ability. The former sees so many issues involved that he finds it an extremely difficult task to trace each one to its end, and to form an evaluation. Much time and energy is consumed before a decision is reached. The decision itself may be given in such abstract terms and with so many limitations upon it that it is practically valueless for application, in case the need for it has not long since passed. On the other hand, the practical man seizes upon the most outstanding points involved, applies his "common sense," and arbitrarily arrives at a decision which works in the situation. The choice may not be so correct as that made by the more intelligent person, but his mind is left free to make other decisions on the same matter, or other matters, as need arises. In the meantime, activities are going forward. The aggressive executive, with a single track mind, and a definite objective, often achieves a success in world affairs which is denied his more methodical and academic fellow. Ordinarily he has little patience with the latter's volitional procedure, even as the more theoretical man has little understanding or sympathy with the "intuitive" and ready decisions of the practical man.

One may form the habit of idealizing and dreaming. Sometimes this attitude is developed as a means of avoiding the unpleasantness coupled with decision-making. One may live in a world of make-believe far removed from the ordinary crises and vicissitudes of everyday life. An equal fault is that of the diffusion of energies. Volitional power is expended over a variety of inconsequential details and no definite goal is set as a determinant of daily choices.

THE CHILD AND VOLITION.—There has been a common belief that, at a certain age ranging in various estimates from five to twelve years, the child becomes able to make independent decisions. In religious parlance he is said to reach "the age of accountability," when he is solely responsible in the making of moral and spiritual choices and in working out his own destiny. Henceforth blame may be imputed for wrong decisions, and punishment may be meted out to him by a just God, either in this world or in the world to come, for his failure of will, or for his choice of the wrong path. The fallacies involved in this theory are evident. Life is continuous and progressive. There is no instant in the life of an individual when conscious deliberation enters in full power. There is gradual growth of volitional processes from the reflex acts of infancy to the complex rational methods of the adult. Furthermore, individuals differ greatly in this respect, some making rapid progress in volitional skills, and others being greatly delayed, either as a matter of heredity or environment, especially as it is represented in training. It is certain that some adults have never attained a stage of responsibility, when they can be trusted to make independent decisions.

The child learns to will only by practising the making of decisions. This means that he should face problems of choice from early years. The child may be led to the decision by careful guidance so that he is motivated in a natural way, but his choice should not be forced and he should be given the experience of free evaluation and determination to act. A mock decision which is not the natural outcome of the child's own thought and interests can have but little if any significance for him. Abstract and complex matters which are beyond his understanding are not a proper matter for childish choices. A child may be led to join the church, to make a religious decision, or to accept a creed. Although such decisions may lead him into good associations, it must not be assumed that he is thereby given a religious experience. Unless he receives careful instruction and sympathetic guidance the whole affair may be a formal meaningless adaptation. The child should be participant in religious life from the beginning, absorbing the ideals and the atmosphere of the religious group as naturally as he fulfills any other function, but sooner or later, gradually or suddenly, he should make his decision on his own initiative. Otherwise it is doubtful if religious issues can ever have any reality to him, or be a potent force in his life. Moral habits and ideals are an aid to future right decisions, but the child whose moral life has been carefully guarded and controlled must eventually decide the moral problems and issues involved for himself with full consciousness of the values involved if he is to be more than a mere automaton. It is well for one to have an adequate body of right habits of thought and action, but unless he has formed the habit of independent volition in moral concerns he will be helpless in the face of new problems.

There is a common view that the will is trained by the performing of disagreeable tasks. With this thought in mind certain subjects of the school curricula have been made overly difficult. Parents impose the burden of memorizing a chapter of the Bible each week with the belief that the child thereby acquires a religious will which is beneficial. It is sometimes thought that the undertaking of interesting work or indulging in play activities is not only of no value as far as will is concerned, but that it is even weakening and vicious. As a matter of fact, the power to will is developed best through the making of decisions in crises which arise in connection with any activity in which one is vitally interested. Let a child be engaged in an undertaking such as the building and furnishing of a doll's house and difficulties which are encountered are met with an aggressive spirit. Decisions are made after painstaking deliberation and search. The emphasis throughout is positive and progressive. In distinct contrast, one who is faced with a disagreeable and uninteresting task is apathetic and even negative. The child's wish and will is directed toward the avoidance of the task, rather than toward its fulfilment. For this reason the child who is the disciplinary case, who is most wilful in his antagonism to formal control, is often the one who is the most worth while. He has at least evidenced strong volitional powers which should be conserved and directed.

Volition and Adaptation.—Not the difficulty of tasks, but the attitude determines the efficiency of the individual in matters of volition. It is evident that one's immediate interest and desire cannot always be put into execution. "The best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft a-gley." Desirable as it may be to have the experience of carrying one's designs to fulfilment, it is equally desirable to acquire the ability of adaptation to circumstances and the will of others on occasion. Life is a matter of "give and take." The end of all education is adjustment, consisting of a proper balance between adaptation and control. The youth who has never had the experience of willingly surrendering his immediate will and desire is unfitted for life as he must actually meet it. He is "persona non grata" among his associates, and must be blocked in many of his undertakings. He is doomed to meet with many disappointments and failures which may lead to mental tragedy unless he learns the tardy lesson of social adjustment.

There is no clearer illustration of the importance of such adaptation than in the making and enforcement of laws governing social behavior. The best insurance of obedience on the part of the members of society of any class or age is the building of a desire to obey the laws which promise mutual good. Without the inculcation of such an attitude, enforcement of any law must bring resentment, and obedience is practiced only under compulsion, not in a spirit of coöperation. An individual becomes dependable as a "self-governing" unit of society only when he freely surrenders his will in the interest of the common good. He then drives his automobile at a safe rate of speed, not because officers of the law are in wait along the road with their threat of arrest, but because he recognizes the beneficence of the laws relating to reckless driving.

Adaptation may be carried too far. When one acquires the habit of submission to the extent that he surrenders his will on every occasion when other wills come into conflict with his, he becomes a negligible factor in society and loses altogether his individuality. "Not my will, but thine, O Lord, be done" is a magnificent recognition of the rule of a higher power. But this may never be given as an adequate excuse for passively drifting through life under the assumption that the Lord will therefore continue His work unhampered. Within the limits assigned, there is an abundant opportunity and responsibility for aggressive volition, as the careers of great religious leaders testify.

In a very real sense, unless one is actually compelled by physical force such as servitude or disease, an individual wills to do that which he most desires to do, in so far as conscious evaluation is made in contradistinction to automatic behavior. One selects that line of conduct which promises most in the way of satisfaction. The martyr doubtless desired life, but valued the rewards of eternal life more than life itself. A young woman desires a professional career and plans accordingly, but surrenders this desire and purpose, to serve her loved ones whom illness and poverty have made dependent, or to become a mission worker among those whose need has made a supreme appeal to her.

A common phenomenon is the conflict of wills in the same individual. This is well expressed in the appeal of St. Paul (Romans 7: 19) "For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do." Here is the experience of one apparently doing that which is contrary to his will. As a matter of fact this tendency to do the act which is recognized as evil means merely that the good was not at the time held in such high esteem as effectually to overcome the appeals arising from the instinctive and habitual desires. Only through the personal experience of being inspired by his Divine Guide with a supreme evaluation of the good was he enabled to gain the mastery and a sense of freedom. Many of such conflicts, if not the majority of them, refer to the struggle of the appeals of present and future goods. The animal and the small child as well tend to desire and to act in such a way as to bring immediate pleasure. Only gradually can the child be led to see the value of restraint in bringing more remote and abstract benefits, and to look upon the natural desires as unworthy. The immoral and degraded man is one who has never had revealed to him, or who is unable to understand and appreciate the paramount values of the good life in contrast with the pleasures of the moment which are promised by evil conduct.

PERSONALITY.—Although the word personality is in common speech, no one is able adequately to define what is signified by it. It is the impression which one makes upon others, and is the result of the summation of many elements both native and acquired. Although an individual may be said to have a unique, a strong, or a weak personality, it is ordinarily very difficult to identify the particular trait or traits which make for this characterization. Inherent physical features such as stature, angularity, color of eyes, and energy are large factors. Emotional behavior, either in the way of control or of free display, plays its part in determining whether one will be recognized as restrained, impulsive, or temperamental. One's habits of gesture, expression, speech, and walk contribute their share, as do also one's habits of thinking and style of oral expression. An individual's attitudes, appreciations and ideals are especially prominent in determining personality. On this basis alone one is found winsome and worthy of imitation and another is repulsive and regarded as a menace.

Personality is sometimes used in the sense of an individual's special mark of distinction from his fellows. Another word which conveys the same meaning is "individuality." In some this is very marked, while others do not impress one as possessing any outstanding trait. The term "character" refers usually to personality as it relates to moral strength as determined by knowledge of the right; good attitudes, habits and ideals; and strength of will to do the right and to resist the wrong. One's volitional attitudes and powers are of major importance in determining another's estimate of his personality. Such characterizations as aggressiveness, diffidence, consistency, passivity, and many others refer to these.

There is no doubt that personality may be changed in a striking way over a longer or shorter period. Those factors which are due to habit may be altered when sufficient motivation is given. A chief difficulty one meets in improving one's personality, granting that a desire exists to do so, is the discovery of the exact element of the total which needs attention. The next difficulty is found in knowing exactly the process to use in effecting an improvement. No general rule may be given, and no general system of training will do. What is needed is careful individual analysis and treatment.

Whatever changes may be made in personality, the personal identity of the normal individual is not destroyed. The coward may become brave, but he can then look backward along the continuous line of his development and identify the coward as indeed himself. Changing a gloomy, negative personality into one of happiness and positive tendency by medical treatment of the ductless glands would not alter the identity. In extreme forms of amnesia, such a consciousness of personal identity may be lost and a new life begun under a new name and new associations with no reference to or memory of the old self. An individual may carry on two antagonistic sets of habits, each in its own set of associations, and thus be said to be living a "double life." Hypocrisy if often thus explainable. A tragic type of insanity is that of the patient who has a "split personality" (the schizoid). For a period he will live the life of one person, then suddenly become another, with an altogether changed personality. These persons alternate in steady succession. Occasionally more than two are found in the same individual. There seems to be no connection between these personalities, either in memory or habit. Such abnormal states usually develop rather gradually and are explained as a form of dissociation. The famous story of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," by Robert Louis Stevenson, is a description of the behavior of such a split personality. Psychoanalysts have given a much more thorough and accurate analysis of actual cases.

Questions and Exercises

1. Show how fatalism and the theological doctrine of predestination are related to the concept of free will. What implications do such beliefs hold as regards future reward and punishment? Can psychology hold out any hope of solving the problem of free will?
2. Cite instances of individuals who have faced difficulties in life because they were "spoiled" children.
3. Explain the professional tramp and drifter in the light of the discussion of this chapter.
4. Do you have a rather vivid concept of the personality of Lincoln? If so how did you acquire it?
5. Show how all education may be conceived of as the changing of personality.
6. In what sense may a nation be said to will? to possess a personality?
7. Indicate the steps which should be taken by one who desires to strengthen his own will.
8. Explain how and in what limited ways the individual may affect modifications in his bodily mechanisms which are cared for by the autonomic division of the nervous system. For example does will aid in the cure of sickness?
9. Why does the bright child often become lacking in strength of will?
10. Many need the experience of failure in order to achieve later success. Explain why this is so and show how the will is influenced.
11. Does it do much good to tell an indolent man, "You could earn a living if you would only make up your mind to do

so"? Explain. What would be a better method of making him industrious?

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CHAPTER XVII

APPEALS AND MOTIVATION

The soul of man is infinite in what it covets.

BEN JONSON

By annihilating the desires, you annihilate the mind. Every man without passions has within him no principle of action, nor motive to act.

HELVETIUS

BASIS OF CONTROL.—Motivation and the law of effect have often been mentioned in the preceding pages. Without needless duplication and reëxplanation, it is the purpose here to discuss the principles and facts that must be kept in mind in attempting to understand, to guide, or to control the behavior of others. Every individual has interests, some of which are of major importance in determining his immediate and his future behavior. Such behavior is being constantly modified, and may be modified and directed by life influences which present themselves in terms of these interests. One who would control another, whether in small affairs or in large ones, whether for a short period or a long one, must adapt himself to the interests of the individual. In this sense he must "become all things to all men." One who would control his own behavior to the goal of some felt good must deliberately set about relating this goal to his interests and emphasizing this relationship. This done, will and action naturally follow.

It is useless to disclaim control of one's fellows as a major function of life, or to give assurances that one does not influence nor seek to influence others. If the teacher did not control the pupils in some way, no systematic learning would result. If the minister did not influence some of the people in his community, his cause would fail and he could perform no service for them. If the business man could not activate people into becoming customers, he would soon be in the hands of the receiver. The same relations hold true in parental care, political campaigning, the making and execution of laws, social service, and a multitude of other human social activities. In even the most casual contacts of man with man, behavior is being more or less consciously modified, and destinies determined. A man is on his way to lunch at a certain restaurant when he meets an old friend who persuades him to accompany him to dinner at a hotel. In conversation, interests are developed which lead to partnership in business, and the man's career henceforth is altogether different than it would have been had his original plans gone forward.

THE NATURE OF MOTIVATION.—Man is by his very nature pleasure-seeking or hedonistic, and remains so throughout his lifetime. These terms have fallen into such disrepute that they are commonly regarded as implying unwholesome tendencies, and many resent the implication that man always acts or tends to act in such a way as to bring him satisfaction, or pleasure. They point to the many instances where an individual has disregarded his personal desires and acted in a spirit of sacrifice and true nobility to bring happiness to others, or to keep alive an ideal to which he is loyal. As a matter of fact no moral connotation is implied by the term pleasure. The act which brings pleasure may be considered either moral or immoral, worthy or unworthy, in terms of its associations and outcomes. The man who sacrifices his desires for wealth or life or sensory pleasures for what is considered a nobler and higher end, has undoubtedly chosen that pathway which promises the greatest satisfaction to him.

It is no discredit to man to say that he is essentially selfish, in the best sense of that term, even when he is performing the most unselfish acts. He responds favorably to that which has the greatest appeal to him. It has previously been shown that an interest in any line of behavior or in an object is an attitude favorable to it. Could one know what another's interests are at any moment and their relative values he would have a key to the immediate future behavior of the individual.

A distinction must be made in this connection between impulsive acts and those acts which involve volition. The former are more or less automatic reactions of the organism which take place as the outcome of past habits of attitude, thought or conduct, or of instinctive tendencies as modified by habit. An act of heroism or cowardice may be of this nature. The call comes, "Man overboard!" Without thought, a fellow passenger dives into the sea at the risk of his own life. Another in his place might have hesitated or shrunk back. The difference between the two may be explained by reference to their contrasting background of ideals, habits, and temperaments.

Non-deliberative acts are motivated just as truly as any other acts. The entire organism responds to the situation in the way in which it has been set by previous patterns of behavior. It is commonly recognized that an individual's true character is revealed by his behavior in sudden crises when there is no time to deliberate, or when the ordinary inhibitory controls of volitional thought do not operate. It is then that the mental set, the emotional predisposition, and the motor tendency are the motivating agents.

In all those acts which involve true volition, as has been pointed out in the preceding chapter, one always acts in terms of that which he considers the greatest good, preferring it to all lesser goods which present themselves. Furthermore, his choice is determined by his tendency to shrink from and avoid those lines of action which, for him, are non-good or evil. If he is not actually bound by chains, or physically handicapped, he does what he *wants* to do.

THE DETERMINATION OF VALUES.—In view of the basic principles thus considered, the ordering of conduct in self or in others, in the individual or the group, must primarily be concerned with the problem of establishing values of concepts of goodness. The drunkard can become a man of sober habits when and only when a life of sobriety has a greater appeal for him than a life of drunkenness. After he has indulged in a "spree" he is temporarily cured, and may swear that he will never again touch a drop of liquor. But later on, his craving for liquor will master him and he yields to temptation, sometimes without a struggle, because all of his physical sets are in this direction. He can gain the mastery over the liquor habit only when he is so strongly motivated that his desire for habits of abstinence permanently override all of his organic, mental, and emotional sets in the contrary direction. This end is greatly aided by associating disgust or extreme unpleasantness with the wrong act. Certain "cures" depend upon over-dosage, or on the mixing of drugs with liquor in such a way as to produce a nausea. A drunkard who periodically broke all of his vows of temperance, and who was steadily sinking deeper into the habits of a sot, while on his way home one day, shortly after a prolonged spree, saw a drunken neighbor crawling on his hands and knees in the mud of the road. He then declared, "If I look like that, I'll never take another drop," and was always true to this promise. This was the extra motivation needed to change his career. He had somewhere in his nature a spark of pride which responded when the proper stimulus came. Another in his place might not have been even slightly influenced by the same scene. Positive appeals such as love of family or friends may be equally influential.

Values are significant only as they touch the affective life of the individual in some way. One may memorize a list of goods which should be the goals of behavior without having his behavior thereby modified.[1] It is only when he is led to take a favorable attitude toward these goods that they take their place as interests and have an actual appeal which determines conduct. One may reason with another in such a way as to show the superior value of one line of action over another and to win the other's agreement with this judgment, but, unless such reasoning in some way touches the emotions and fires the imagination, the mere thought process may never be represented in conduct.

Mankind in the mass has certain common bases of appeals, so that crowds may be swayed into one line of action or another, the individual being so completely merged in the mass mind as to lose the particular differentiations which his peculiar background of habits have given him. Mobs require a special type of treatment. The person is commonly met as a unit, however, and as such his interests and patterns of behavior are unique. Each individual is a special problem calling for special analysis and adaptation on the part of one who seeks to direct his behavior. No general principles can be given which will obviate the necessity of discovery and invention in particular situations. One thing is certain; that the desirable conduct must be made appealing in a supreme degree to the individual. He must sense or feel the values involved in that line of conduct.

BASIC INTERESTS AND SOURCES OF APPEAL.—In a broad sense life is an endless search for happiness. One may protest the use of this term, and propose substitutes for it, as did Carlyle, with the term "blessedness," but these can be but certain definitions of the original word. Contentment itself is only a certain kind of quiet happiness. The man who is completely satisfied is rarely met with. One may be contented without being satisfied. Entire satisfaction or satiety, is not held as a desirable goal of life, for this would mean the negation of action and accomplishment.

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[1] A. O. Bowden, "Enlightenment and Emotivation," *School and Society* (October 13, 1928), Vol. 28 (720), pp. 435–438.

It has been commonly asserted that the instincts or instinctive tendencies provide the bases of desires which may be used for motivation. While this is in a sense true, one must not overlook the great part that habit and learning play in determining the wants of men and their estimates of value. On the basis of simple essential needs, in themselves primitive and elemental, one may erect very complex patterns of wants, without which he cannot be happy. Many of the strongest urges which man evidences are those which are the outcome of habits he has acquired. The millionaire loses all of his wealth in speculation, and, faced with poverty, he takes his own life, because he cannot adjust to a low standard of living in which others who have never known the luxuries to which he has become accustomed find contentment. Furthermore, one may learn to act counter to the instinctive tendency and find his chief satisfactions in habits which negate such a tendency.

Some of the basic hungers which provide a rich background and source of appeals are here briefly noted. Any of these may be either intensified, restricted, or otherwise modified by habit. The will to live, or instinct of self-preservation, is normally characteristic of all. It may be weakened or nullified by disease, troubles, old age, or by the overmastering power of some end, such as devotion to family or country, which is conceived to be of greater value. Death is recognized as the arch-enemy of man. Means of prolonging life are hailed with joy. The concept of immortality is a natural expression of the desire for the extension of life, especially a life freed from the vicissitudes to which it ordinarily is subject. Immortality has been the hope of men of all ages and varying types of civilization. Individuals express their desires for greater permanence, even in the erection of granite mausoleums and tombstones.

Food has always been one of the basic needs, not only as a means of preserving life, but more directly as a satisfaction of bodily hunger and a means of avoiding hunger pangs. Hunger has been the motivating force of many revolutions and has led to many instances of individual crime as well as industry. The sex hunger may be similarly classified as an organic urge and desire for fulfilment and may become a dominant force in determining an individual's destiny through normal or abnormal function.

Health is a universal desire. Loss of health not only carries with it the threat of death, but also disease, pain, and loss of normal activity. Miraculous cures have always had a very wide and effective appeal to the mass of mankind. Health has been a strong motivating factor in many religious appeals. Let one miracle of faith-cure be reported, and the next day a crowd of the infirm will be beating upon the doors.

True friendship has always been greatly prized. There is so much of loneliness in life that association with another who is sincerely interested in one's life, who is harmoniously coöperative, to whom one may give the best that is in him, and in whom one may fearlessly confide, is recognized as one of life's greatest values.

Social esteem comes to be a dominant force in very early years, and much of man's behavior may be explained as a spontaneous or deliberate attempt to win the favor of those whose opinions and regard are valued. There is no more pitiful figure than that of the man who is despised by his fellows, when he at the same time values their esteem. One may take pleasure in being despised by those whose ideals are held unworthy, or by one group of his fellow-men when another group loyally supports him. There is normally a sense of social fulfillment when one's efforts are recognized by society, and individuals will often go to any extreme to win such approval.

Strength and power are coveted by all, even as weakness is abhorred. The desire may manifest itself in a great variety of ways, from brute force to executive control, logical persuasion, and virtuous behavior. Wealth is often chiefly valued because it is power, and gives to its possessor a tool of control over forces and over his fellow-man. In other cases it is valued in itself as the antithesis of poverty and as an added assurance of stability in a fluctuating world.

A general group of desires may be classified under the heading of desires for comfort. These may include phases of those which have been noted and many additional ones according to the interpretation of the individual. They may involve the avoidance of physical labor, the having of luxuries, a rich family life, peaceful and serene intercourse with one's fellows, and free activity.

Positive vs. Negative Appeals.—Those who wish to motivate others to a certain line of behavior must consider well whether it is desirable to emphasize the negative or positive aspects. Any of the basic desires which may be cited are subject to either interpretation; of values to be achieved or of evils to be avoided. Advertisers frequently enlist the interest of prospective customers by portraying the disastrous consequences of doing without their product. Religious and moral leaders have pointed out the evils which result from wrong conduct, both in this life and in eternity. The concepts of Heaven and Hell have had a perfectly natural development as positive and negative interpretations of immortality. Either or both may be emphasized, in distinct contrast. In recent years there has been a tendency to slight the emphasis upon Hell as the place of everlasting punishment, but as this has fallen into the background there has been a consequent loss of the clear concept of Heaven, and the hypothetical eternal consequences of one's conduct are less and less a motivating force in the control of behavior. This is doubtless a step in human progress, but in the meantime there has been no serious effort to replace these concepts of value with equally strong motivations.

There can be no general rule given regarding the comparable values of positive and negative appeals. These depend upon the whole situation. It is certain that many can be reached only through the negative emphasis. Attention is controlled and interest aroused by startling suggestions of dangers to be avoided. Some would avoid playing upon the fears of men, as being an unworthy means of attaining an end, however worthy may be this end. As a matter of fact, even the most positive appeals, to be effective, must carry with them a more or less clearly defined sense of danger in case the appeals are not heeded. The insurance agent who presents the picture of a protected family and a secure old age is at the same time, it may be all unconsciously, making clear to his prospective policy-holder the evils of non-protection and insecurity incident to a failure to purchase the policy. One may trust certain individuals to fill in the negative aspect with their own imaginings; to others the detailed and vivid description of portending evils must be given very clearly and in concrete terms. Individual differences obtain here, as elsewhere. Religious and social leaders are in error in assuming that all mankind may be reached effectively by the positive appeal.

There can be no justification for anyone building up systems of appeal based upon predictions of imaginary or exaggerated values to be achieved or evils to be avoided. Care must be taken to see that only real values and facts are presented. The child who is threatened with punishment or some natural consequent upon the repetition of the act, must actually experience this when repeating the act or the prediction loses its force. One can have only the utmost contempt for the dealers in patent medicines who advertise their nostrums in such a way as to lead the reader to imagine himself a victim of serious ailments. The social leader who fluently predicts imaginary social ills, with no sound authority for such prognostications, merely to achieve a control of a social group, falls in the same class.

ESTIMATES OF HUMAN MOTIVES.—Individuals are constantly judging human conduct and attributing motives to conduct. Although behavior is often objective and observable, one can seldom discover the underlying motive or motives. Much uncharitable gossip regarding others would be effectually estopped if individuals realized the futility and injustice of attributing motives. It is not often that one can tell with any degree of accuracy the exact motives which precipitated an act which he himself has performed. Motives which actually prompted behavior are neglected in consciousness, and imagination conjures motives which had no real part in the process. Most excuses or explanations of conduct are of the nature of rationalizations. Individuals commonly attribute to their own activities the highest motives but are not always so solicitous in considering the behavior of others.

As a rule man acts from very mixed motives. Some motives are recognized as worthy and others as unworthy, but it is not clearly recognized that good motives may lead to wrong conduct, or that a person may be blameless for an evil act which he has committed. Courts of equity have been created with a view to discovering extenuating circumstances and contributing motives, and adjusting punishment correspondingly. While this is a move in the right direction it cannot be hoped that a mere superficial knowledge of the forces at work in an individual life will reveal a clear motive or set of motives in the tangled skeins. It may be possible, as some assert, that there could be no blame attaching to anyone were all the facts known regarding the influences which caused his behavior. A thorough study of the individual, even the most hardened criminal, is provocative of sympathy rather than censure, for everyone is to some extent the victim of circumstances. It must not be forgotten, however, that blame is in itself one of the strongest of all motivating agencies to right conduct. Sentimental considerations which would eliminate all blame from social judgments and court decrees must be recognized as impracticable and short sighted. The good of many cannot be sacrificed to the good of one. A sounder procedure even though it would require infinite patience, would be to reorganize society itself so that right motives will predominate in individuals' lives.

Direct vs. Indirect Appeals.—It is always possible to approach a desired end in a round-about way, and on certain occasions it is desirable to do so. This is especially true when one is dealing with human nature. The individual or group may be so laden with prejudices as to be altogether resistant to pleadings or arguments, however ably they may be presented. The wiser course would be to approach them in such a way as to arouse interests, eliminate prejudices, and to effect a state of readiness for proposed changes in behavior. A frontal attack may be more foolhardy than courageous. Such deviation as is here suggested does not mean insincerity, neither should it be used on all occasions. A great deal may often be gained by a bold, straightforward presentation of issues, in situations where indirection would fail.

The Use of Appeals in Moral and Religious Conduct.—Individuals may be said to have progressed to the degree that they are more and more able to respond to motivations and appeals of a higher type. This means that they can be directed in terms of goods which are remote as well as those in the near future, stimulated by concepts of abstract values as well as those more concrete, and be led to anticipate pleasures in sacrificing personal advantage for the sake of social welfare. He who would control the behavior of another must deal with him upon the level where he is. The social leader often makes the mistake of talking in abstract terms which can have no meaning for many adults as well as children, and consequently are not motivating agencies. He who is adjusted to abstract ideas can find no appeal in concrete representations which may be remarkably effective with many others. It appears that one of the chief differences between the fundamentalist and modernist groups in matters of religious beliefs is found at this point. It is very difficult for one of these groups to understand, let alone be stimulated by the values which the other finds appealing, yet both may be equally sincere.

A young minister was going to a new parish. He anxiously inquired of an older and wiser pastor, "What will be my duties in this new field? What subjects should I choose for my sermons?" The answer was, "Your primary task is to study the people of the community, to make a systematic list of the great wants and hungers and desires which are common among them, then to meet these yearnings, in personal contact and in the pulpit, with full sympathy and in terms that will move the people to more complete living, and happier lives. Do not let your theology, or argument, or scolding come between you and the folk of the community or cause you to lose sight of the main goal."

The religious or social worker is always faced with the tragic fact that those who are working for the development of irreligious and immoral attitudes and practices, or those secular agencies which are bent on material success, are free to make use of appeals of a type which he is ethically bound to forego. Sex appeal of the most suggestive sort is made use of in literature, the drama, the motion picture, and in advertising, in order to stimulate curiosity and to attract customers. The church cannot rightly do so except in a very refined and non-sensual way. Material success is presented as the real goal in all commercial life. Moral agencies recognize the fleeting character of riches and their unsatisfying nature, at the same time pointing out the values inherent in spiritual riches, the glory in renunciation, the potency found in peace of mind, and the responsibility which material wealth involves. The church is coming more and more to realize itself as a social institution, but it cannot be effectively appealing if it is not something more than a mere social club.

It is probable that moral and religious agencies must always appeal to the heroic and sacrificial in man if they would be successful in their purposes. Character is attained only by struggle with problems. True worship calls for definite personal and social adjustments, in which one must give something of himself. Let the moral or religious life or work become easy and formal, and it loses its virility and therefore becomes unappealing. The concepts of Heaven and Hell must be supplemented or replaced as early and as thoroughly as possible with the concept of personal responsibility for the welfare of others, not only for the present, but for all following generations. Individuals must come to have a real respect for others, and recognize the fact of the lasting influence of even the simplest act. In the words of Carlyle:

> "Cast forth thy word, thy act, into the ever-living, ever-working universe; it is a seed grain that cannot die. Unnoticed to-day; it will be found flourishing like a banyan grove, or perhaps, alas, like a hemlock forest, after a hundred years." *

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* The banyan is the symbol of peace, rest, righteousness, and prosperity; while the hemlock, the source of a deadly poison, is, in contrast, the symbol of suffering and wrong.

Only as individuals come to desire lives which will yield the greatest good to the greatest number for all time, can the highest type of moral life be possible.

There is needed a systematic science of promotion for religious and moral activities. Even as commercial agencies are working out such procedures in advertising and salesmanship, and using them successfully, so he who is concerned with social leadership should replace his haphazard methods with those which are more exact and effective. Existing waste is inexcusable, inasmuch as facts have been or may be discovered through an adequate study of human nature. Every failure in an attempt to win an individual to the good life is an indication that adequate incentives have not been discovered or applied.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. List as many of the motives that the church cannot make use of as you can. In what appeals does it have a decided advantage over secular agencies? Are these appeals properly developed as a rule?
2. Discuss amusement as a motivating force, and analyze its good and bad tendencies. How do you explain that the financial rewards of the entertainer, such as Harry Lauder, Eddie Cantor, Charley Chaplin and Babe Ruth are so superior to those of the renowned scientist?
3. Discuss pleasure-seeking as a habit. Show how commercial agencies which deal in amusement undertake to build up amusement habits in the young.
4. Is the statement true that "He who seeks happiness will not find it"?
5. Read and analyze Emerson's essay on "Compensation" in the light of this discussion.
6. Explain ennui and give some illustrations of it.

7. Appeals are being made for the support of some charity. Show a variety of ways in which different individuals derive pleasure through giving to it. Why are the names of those who give published, together with the amounts given? Evaluate this practice.
8. Show how special talents may be used as motivations.
9. Explain the appeal made by the sorrowings and sufferings of Jesus, also by the concept of His mastery over evil and death.
10. Discuss the punishment of children, its place and limitations.
11. Why is it that the minister who constantly emphasizes to his group the terrors of Hell, after a time finds he can inspire no real sense of terror by this means? Is the same thing true of the moralist who is always predicting disaster? What is then needed?
12. Cite instances of effective indirect approach; of negative appeal.

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CHAPTER XVIII

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The child is father to the man.

WORDSWORTH

There is nothing in all the world so important as children, nothing so interesting. If ever you wish to go in for philanthropy, if ever you wish to be of real use in the world, do something for children. If ever you yearn to be wise, study children. If the great army of philanthropists ever exterminate sin and pestilence, ever work out our race salvation, it will be because a little child has led.

DAVID STARR JORDAN

Youth is the period of building up in habits and hopes and faiths. Not an hour but is trembling with destinies; not a moment, once passed, of which the appointed work can ever be done again, or the neglected blow struck on the cold iron.

JOHN RUSKIN

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT.—The development of an individual is continuous from the instant that life begins in the fertilized germ cell until death. Birth is only one incident in the process of growth. For purposes of convenience psychologists have divided life into stages of development, each one merging into the one that follows. Some make the mistake of assuming that the child is distinctly different, mentally, and even physically, at each of these stages. As a matter of fact the placement of the age limits for the periods is very artificial, although certain distinctive marks may characterize each of them.

Many different classifications have been made, according to the specific interest of the one making the classification. The following scheme is useful and suggestive.

- Pre-natal period, from conception to birth—nine months
- Infancy, from birth to one year of age
- Babyhood, from one year to three years of age
- Childhood, which may be further divided
  - Early childhood, from three years to six years. (The pre-school period)
  - Middle childhood, from six years to eight or nine years. (The primary school period)
  - Later childhood, from eight or nine years to twelve years. (Intermediate school period)
- Puberty, from twelve years to fourteen years. (Junior High School period, or transition period)
- Adolescence which is subdivided often into
  - Early adolescence, from fourteen years to eighteen years
  - Later adolescence, from eighteen years to about twenty-four
- Maturity, from about twenty-four years to about seventy years. This is a period of economic independence and responsibility.
- Senescence, or old age, a period when development is more than offset by the forces of decay

There is great individual variation in the date of the onset of any of these stages as indicated by their appropriate characteristics. Some children retain their infantile behavior and even their physical traits for several years later than is normally the case. Puberty may be accelerated in some and retarded in others. The sexes differ in the rate of development, girls reaching the age of puberty from one to two years earlier than boys.

PRE-NATAL LIFE.—Granting a sound inheritance, the destiny of the child is often determined by the influences of pre-natal environment. The health of the mother is of the utmost importance in so far as it affects her ability to supply the foetal life with nourishment which is free from poison or taint of disease. Malfunctioning of the endocrine glands in the mother is probably a frequent cause of children being born with serious physical and mental handicaps. Alcoholism, syphilis, physical accidents, and similar factors may be the cause of lasting deficiencies in the child. Nervous disorders in the mother may affect the matter of nourishment to the child, but there is no evidence that it directly affects the nervous organization of the child. Fears are not transmitted to the child as fears. Neither is there any scientific foundation for the quite common view that the mother by concentration can influence in any way the vocational interests of the child, its beauty of form, its disposition, or its sex.

Infancy.—Normally the child is born when it reaches the stage of growth that insures its power to adapt to the new environment. The digestive, respiratory, and excretory functions must be ready to act. At birth the average child weighs about seven pounds. The rate of growth is determined both by heredity and environmental factors. With the exception of minor fluctuations, growth proceeds by gradual increments rather than by alternate periods of slow and rapid growth. The growth curve, both in height and weight, is indicated by a convex curve, steeper at the beginning than at any later time, thus indicating a relatively rapid rate of growth during infancy. The stature of a child during this early period, and the rate of increase in stature may be used roughly as an indication of the height of the individual when he reaches maturity. Various features and parts of the body develop at different rates and eventually reach their maximum development at different times. At birth the infant resembles very slightly the adult form because the corresponding parts of the body are far from being in the same proportion to each other. The head is relatively very much larger, and the trunk heavier. The boy is slightly larger than the girl on the average at the time of birth, although he does not always hold this superior position.

The new born babe, although possessing certain powers of adaptation, is dependent upon others for satisfaction of its needs. The essential automatic processes connected with the vital functions are in operation, but the cerebro-spinal division of the nervous system is as yet dormant and its functions latent. As soon as environmental stimuli make their impressions upon the sensory organs the development of this neural system goes on rapidly. As the need of the organism calls for them, neurones grow and begin to function, nerve fibers are extended and synaptic connections are made. Some connections are already existent at birth so that certain pathways are established and ready to function as reflex arcs.

The reflexes are simple response patterns which invariably act in the same way. The equipment of the infant at birth, or shortly after birth, includes the following unlearned reflexes: sneezing, hiccoughing, crying, yawning, smiling, movement of the eyes toward light, turning the head, grasping, movements of the members, sucking, digestion, elimination, breathing, eye reflexes, vocalization, and many others. Some reflexes are later in development, while others which exist at birth may later disappear. Some reflexes are more easily modified than others. Reflexes may be considered as simple or compound, according to the complexity of the neural pattern involved. It is very difficult to determine where a reflex leaves off and an instinct or a learned reaction begins. A few simple emotional responses are reflexive at birth. The infant will exhibit all the signs of rage when his limbs or head are firmly held, fear when support is withdrawn or sudden loud noises are made, and affection when nursed or stroked. Out of these primary roots grow the more complex and higher emotional responses.

Mental life may be said to begin when the early sensations are experienced, and especially when these sensations are integrated into percepts, or meaningful experiences. Learning, or conditioning, begins soon after birth. Those reactions which are successful are selected and those that do not bring satisfaction are eliminated. Habits are developed. One can say nothing whatever about the conscious life of the infant as there is no means of knowing what part, if any, consciousness plays in development or in the control of its behavior. Memory develops so that the baby comes to recognize his mother or other familiar associations, and imitative tendencies facilitate learning. It is difficult to conceive of the child as being aware of his own conduct or experiences at this early stage or in any sense establishing any conscious control.

By the end of infancy the average child has made some progress toward eventual independence. He has gained some control over the elimination reflexes, has learned to take the first steps in walking, has learned to regulate his emotional reactions to achieve desired ends, has had some experience in adapting his behavior to others as well as in the control of the behavior of others, and has learned the first speech forms of the language which will henceforth prove a rich source of the development of his mental life.

Babyhood and Early Childhood.—These periods are characterized by a restless and ceaseless activity. The child has an intense desire to handle objects, to examine them, and eventually to take them apart. Anything that comes within reach must be investigated. A larger world of experience opens up as the child is able to walk about, new sensations are experienced, and new percepts and concepts develop. Walt Whitman expressed this thought well in the remarkable poem beginning:

"There was a child went forth every day.
And the first object he looked upon, that object he became,

> And that object became part of him for the day or a certain part
> of the day,
> Or for many years or stretching cycles of years."

As a result of the expansion of sensory functions especially in touch, taste, smell, sight, hearing, and muscle sense, the child's imagination is stimulated. It is free and uncritical, with little power to distinguish between the imaginary and the real. Many of the "lies" of small children are attributable to this fact. Scolding and punishment are not proper remedies, in fact in the majority of cases no remedy is necessary, as the child naturally develops beyond this stage. Care should be used not to inhibit or stamp out the imaginative tendency. If one is convinced of the need for developing habits of truth at this stage, he should provide experiences for the child which will help him to distinguish between real and imagined stories, and provide him with the ability to criticize his own statements in the light of fact.

The child's gradual development in speech, and the use of it for expression, is one of the most significant phases of this period. At first he makes himself understood by the use of simple object or action words which are later combined into phrases and sentences. A remarkably complex and extensive vocabulary may develop in a brief space of time. Normally, the form and correctness of speech, as well as the words used, depends upon the model which is imitated. By the close of the period of babyhood the child is using complete sentences and has a vocabulary of several hundred words.

The intense activity of the child now finds a natural outlet in play. Whether the child plays alone with dolls and toys or with others, he is essentially social in his play activity. Imagination gradually increases as an adjunct of and an aid to play. The child may invent new games, imitate the activities of his elders, or carry on his play with imaginary playmates. The adult can not adequately direct or share in this play. The best service a parent can render is to provide the child with simple equipment and opportunity for play and allow him to develop independence in his play activity. This is a rich source of learning.

The small child is curious about the world of things. His questions about this world are interminable. Through securing information, however simple, he is preparing to meet the problems of life. Some parents read into the child's questions many abstruse meanings which are not there. The child is not interested in questions of a metaphysical nature or of the ultimate nature of the universe when he asks about God, or life, or death. He is thinking of something concrete and is satisfied with a very simple, concrete explanation.

It is during this period that reasoning of a simple type makes itself evident. The child has neither the ample experience, the critical attitude, standards of evaluation, inhibitory powers, or powers of attention to carry on any long process of abstract reasoning. He does, however, sense relationships, make comparisons, and draw simple inferences. He evidences moments of deliberation, in which judgments are formed.

The significance of social life during this period cannot be overestimated. The child learns to play with and adapt himself to social groups. It is here that many of the instinctive tendencies receive direction toward useful or harmful ends. Rivalry and competition, acquisitiveness, domination and leadership, co-operation, and other tendencies receive impetus or are checked. The young child's associates are thus a tremendous factor in his body of habits. The desire for approval of others and avoidance of disapproval is a basis of guidance and motivation.

The child is non-moral. He is not depraved and possessed of the devil; nor is he innately good. He has powers and capacities which may be directed to good or bad ends according to the environing forces that affect his life, such as his associates. Emotional instability increases the chances of his becoming immoral. Defective functioning of the ductless glands may increase the energy and decrease the normal inhibitions to such an extent as to predispose him toward anti-social activities. Low intelligence may make it very difficult for him to grasp the meaning of self-control, or to anticipate the outcome of his acts. Early childhood is the period when specific good habits are built up which will be the basis on which ideals are later constructed. Abstract principles and ideals mean little or nothing to him, but consistent guidance in good conduct covering a great diversity of emergencies will lead to moral concepts and habits. If the child is led to make free moral choices of the right type, even at this early age his character will be greatly strengthened.

MIDDLE CHILDHOOD.—This is a period of growing independence of the home. The child is initiated into a larger social world, including the school, to which he must conform. He becomes a member of larger groups, takes part in their activities, and becomes more socially minded. Imitation plays a great part in development. He submits to formal education, not because of any abstract idea of the value of education, but because others are doing it. He wants to be able "to read like father."

During this period the child gains muscular control, and coordination of the finer muscles. He enjoys using the muscles in drawing, construction, and play. Mentally, his imagination is brought under more control and is applied to simple creative tasks. Although the child may be reasoned with, he does not yet independently pursue a line of logical reasoning, nor consciously manipulate conceptual thought. Observations are greatly inaccurate, due to lack of experience, freedom of imagination, susceptibility to suggestion, and inability to evaluate. His attentive power is not yet developed, and concentration for a long period of time is avoided, or, if attempted, will bring fatigue. Attention rapidly shifts from one thing to another. Class exercises should be brief and associated as greatly as possible with his interests.

The activities in which a child engages during this period have as their end immediate satisfactions rather than those more remote. Interest is directed to the process rather than the product. The child gives way to impulses of the moment, and shows little power of inhibition except when he is under direct control. He does good acts because it pays, not because of some abstract recognition of a remote value. He wants to eat all of his candy now, without consideration of possible indigestion or of the advantages of saving part of it for another day.

Lasting appreciations may be built up during this period. Enthusiasms and pleasures are especially contagious. Simple stories have a great appeal and may be read or heard over and over. Music, art, and handwork, when properly presented, are not passively accepted. They arouse active attempts toward creation, which should not be curbed by over-criticism, or by overemphasis on techniques. At no other time of life does the child more readily respond to affection.

LATER CHILDHOOD.—The chief characteristic of this period is a growth of independence. The child has gained a sense of mastery which gives him distinction. He has a definite sense of superiority to younger children who have not yet learned the fundamental tools and is now ready to apply his powers in new and interesting ways. He dislikes monotony. His judgments are of a practical type. He eagerly reaches out for more information. He likes to explore, investigate, experiment, and make things happen.

During this period the child usually manifests sudden and sometimes violent rebellions against authority. Restrictive rules and examples may arouse his antagonism. He asserts his independence in the performance of school activities and in general social attitudes. As a result, disciplinary problems of the most serious nature arise. The child is not altogether unsocial, but restricts his social interests to "pals" or to small groups of congenial associates. This is the age of "gangs" which may develop strong anti-social and even criminal tendencies. The recent movements toward the organization of clubs and Boy Scouts under careful supervision, yet giving the boys a natural outlet for their urge to independence, are well designed and in the right direction. Any plan which helps to give a child of this age some notion that others have rights which should be respected is helpful.

The child of this age has an abundance of energy which is responsible for many of the difficulties in which he becomes involved. He is tirelessly active in pursuits which interest him. He is now able to give attention to matters of interest to him for relatively long periods. A boy may work on the construction of a boat or an aeroplane for the greater part of a day or many successive days. Though he may yield to other attractions of the moment, he comes back to the task with fresh enthusiasm. Owing to his power of close attention, he is able to get clearer percepts and to remember better than at any earlier period.

The child of this period is especially notable as a hero-worshipper. He admires the adventurer, the wonder-worker, the leader of men who demonstrates his power over his fellows. He makes no moral evaluation of his hero, but simply respects him for, and tends to imitate him in his activity. Characters of literature, history, the movies, the drama, or of real life of the day may be selected. It is unfortunate that ideal heroes and heroines of religious history have not always been presented in fascinating ways to children of this age.

Many psychologists regard this period as preëminently the time for the development of character, although recognizing the supreme skill needed in doing so. Moral suasion and argument accomplish little. Disapproval by adults or by his fellow children is of little avail if he is able to secure the approval of his own coterie of friends. Arbitrary and firm authority is needed to some extent with all, and especially with certain ones. Authority of this type may, however, leave the child with the wrong attitude. The indirect and positive approach is better. There should be emphasis upon activities which will enlist the wholehearted coöperation of the child, and which will bring out socially helpful tendencies. Authority, when used, should be properly supplemented by such activities.

At no other period does the child stand in such great need of strong leadership, whether by teachers, parents, or older associates. In the words of G. Stanley Hall, such a leader

> "will be the captain of the child's soul; will be able to do some things with his or her body that the child cannot; will be able to answer most of the questions suggested by the field, the forest, the beach, the street, and their denizens; will suggest plays and umpire games; will perhaps know a little of coaching, but will be a stern disciplinarian, genial withal, but rigorous and relentless in his exactions, and intolerant of all scamped work; will love occasional excursions and expeditions; will perhaps sing, play, and draw a little; will be able to do something expertly well; and, as perhaps the culminating quality, will have a repertory of the greatest stories the human race has ever told or heard.
>
> "Finally the teacher should have good manners, a uniform disposition, much joy of life, and sympathy with just this age. Some persons are made to love children in this stage most of all." [1]

PUBERTY.—From many points of view this may be regarded as the transition period between childhood and maturity. Marked changes in growth take place. Sex functions mature and this is accompanied by profound modifications in the entire organism. There is general acceleration of growth in stature, and of certain parts of the body. This, together with growth of muscles leads to incoördination and awkwardness. Secondary sex characteristics appear, such as change of voice and the growth of the beard in the boy.

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[1] G. Stanley Hall, "The Ideal School Based on Child Study" (*Proceedings of the National Educational Association*), 1901, pp. 474 ff.

Endocrinal functions are intensified because of demands made by growth and developmental changes. This results in a general heightening of the emotional life. There now surges up strong feelings of joy, love, anger, fear, hope, ambition, sympathy, jealousy, emulation, and similar states. These denote a widening horizon in contrast with the self-centered impulses and desires of the preceding period of individualism. Emotions come into conflict with each other and with habits. New and strange desires must be met, and either satisfied or controlled. This period is peculiarly one of "storm and stress." As might be anticipated there are frequent instances of marked instability. Latent weaknesses resulting from inheritance or training are brought to light by these crises.

It has been noted that young people of this age often tend to neglect study, to have difficulty in concentration, and to dream. This may be accounted for by the excessive drain which physical changes make upon energy and by distractions incident to exaggerated emotional life. There is usually a tendency toward retirement, a dislike of public appearance, a bashfulness and embarrassment which may be attributed to a semi-consciousness of awkwardness, change of voice, and general emotions. This is only temporary, and should be understood, so that the boy or girl will not be forced to do anything conspicuous, or be blamed for being unwilling to do so.

Varieties of nervous ailments, as well as other ills, may arise during this period, although the mortality rate is comparatively small. The individual may become morbid and introspective. He is ordinarily very secretive and finds it difficult to take anyone, even parents, and sometimes them least of all, into his confidence. The remedy lies in getting the child interested in things and activities outside of self, also providing some older confidant to whom he may go and reveal his most secret thoughts and fears and hopes. Confidences should be held sacred. Advice may be given as needed, but the very act of confiding, or confessing, gives the child greater confidence and makes him better able to adjust himself to the world about him. The child of this age is naturally very curious concerning matters of sex. By the time he or she reaches this period, adequate instruction on this topic should have been given by someone able to do so, for the sake of his mental and physical health and future happiness. So much misinformation and vile associations have gathered about the topic of sex, a child is fortunate that has parents who are wise enough and sympathetic enough to give all needful information in a clear, frank way. By this act alone the barrier between parents and child would be broken down and the chances of disaster in this connection would be greatly lessened.

ADOLESCENCE.—Many of the problems and characteristics of the age of puberty carry over into adolescence, but new characteristics become evident. The youth becomes more self-directing than at any previous time. He wants to appear like a man among men. Whether he recognizes his insufficiencies and tries to meet them, or whether the process is rather automatic, he tends to meet the world with a good deal of "bluff," and to assume airs of superiority. A sophomore in high school may give even his elders the impression that he is very wise and very efficient, to the extent that they are somewhat awed by him. This stage is preëminently a period of social consciousness, in which the youth is making his adjustments to society. He is socially amenable, and is willing, even anxious, to assume positions of responsibility and to compete for leadership.

The youth is more controlled by reason than by impulse. His activities become purposeful. His emotions become better integrated. There is a general broadening of the intellectual field, and his interests are more dominant, varied, and on a higher plane. He considers his life work and destiny with great seriousness. He becomes aware of many problems, normally loves to argue, and tends to take dogmatic stands on issues, thus evidencing his superiority. The most popular point of view may win his support, but the most progressive and radical stand has an especial appeal in so far as it lends him a special distinction.

Imagination is quickened, and books of history, biography, and literature are read with zest. The youth projects himself into the future and "sees visions and dreams dreams." He builds ideals of his own and conceives notions which may be impractical and which may clash with those of his elders. He feels a sense of responsibility and readily becomes the leader of "causes" of which he believes mankind stands in need. It has been found that conversions occur more frequently at the age of sixteen than at any other time. Whether the youth will become religious or not depends upon his associations. It is a period of decisions. In one association, with a right background of training he will become a religious enthusiast, but in other associations he may become an atheist, or decide upon a life of crime. Although there is a strong emotional background of such decisions, appeals should be largely made on a rational basis and deliberation emphasized. The youth tends to be ashamed of emotional display, and to experience revulsion against decisions secured in this manner.

Youth has not as yet learned the fine art of sympathy, in fact the individual is commonly somewhat heartless and cruel. He is engrossed in the competitive struggle for dominance, whether in scholarly, social, or athletic pursuits. He neither asks quarter, nor gives it. However much he may feel a sense of pity for the loser, he will not reveal it to others, for this would be a sign of weakness. He becomes a stoic, and, even in the face of great disappointment he restrains his tears, at least in public.

The youth is in the final preparatory stage for becoming an adult. There must be a great deal of trial and error learning before he comes to maturity. Only gradually can he make adjustments to his world. He furnishes the energy, the enthusiasm, and the will to win against great obstacles; but wisdom, tolerance, sympathy, and self-control can come only with the rich and varied experience of added years. During this period he needs the sympathetic understanding of his elders, who thus can assist greatly in helping him to find firm foundations.

Those who deal with childhood and youth find it necessary to do a great deal of adapting. The adult is too prone to think and act on the adult level, failing to recognize the interests and characteristics of the young life. In all educational, religious, and social programs designed for the guidance of the child, specific age and sex differences should be fully recognized. Furthermore, the individual should be carefully analyzed and his particular characteristics, problems, needs, and interests should be adequately met. The child is commonly blamed for his failure to respond to the treatment prescribed and the appeals made. The child is not wrong, whether he be infant or senior adolescent. He is the product of social forces. Those who determine immoral forces, and those who make ineffectual attempts to guide and control are wrong, regardless of their conscious sincerity. Those who deliberately mislead and corrupt a child of any age are guilty of the blackest crime against the individual and against society.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. It is commonly said that "the bad is more easily learned than the good." Explain what is meant by this in psychological terms.

2. Show the significance of the law of effect in moral training and show how it might be applied to children of various ages.
3. Give some evidences that the present age is becoming more child-centered than was true in the past. What bearing would this have on the content and the method of religious education or public school education?
4. Furnish some practical suggestions of ways in which the talents of the child may be made use of to advantage by the club, church or school in directing his development. At what age or ages is this especially valuable?
5. Indicate responsibilities which may be given to children of various ages and note at which stage this is very important. What safeguards and limitations are necessary?
6. Discuss the Youth Movement in the secondary schools and colleges of Russia, Germany, United States and other countries. Explain it and state its probable outcomes.
7. G. Stanley Hall refers to early adolescence as a "new birth." What does he mean, and to what extent is this term justified?
8. Write an essay or an outline on "The Ideal Parent," keeping in mind the various stages of child development.

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CHAPTER XIX

ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR AND MENTAL HYGIENE

> This wretched brain gave way, and I became a wreck at random driven, without one glimpse of reason or of heaven.
>
> THOMAS MOORE

DEFINITION OF ABNORMAL.—In a broad sense the term "abnormal" can best be understood in contrast with the normal. The normal individual is one whose physical mechanisms for adjustment are relatively perfect and functioning perfectly so that he is properly and adequately related to his entire environment. Contrariwise the abnormal is one who cannot thus adapt himself because of some imperfect organization or function of these mechanisms.

There has come about a distinction between the *subnormal,* or those with deficient intelligence, and the abnormal, which refers more definitely to those who are markedly eccentric in behavior. Thus one child who is feeble-minded may react to situations as the average feeble-minded child of the same mental age may be expected to do, while another child of identical general capacity may be very erratic in his conduct. The latter is abnormal as well as subnormal. In spite of superior mental endowment another child or adult may be abnormal in the sense that he does not behave as the bright individual ordinarily behaves.

Mere physical defect or disease, although it may contribute to abnormality, does not in itself constitute a characteristic of the abnormal. One may be said to behave "normally" within the range of his limitations thus determined, while another with fine physique and apparently in perfect health may exhibit very aberrant behavior.

It should be kept in mind that the normal differs from the abnormal only in degree. It is possible that there is no person who is perfectly normal in all of his reactions to situations. In view of the impossibility of differentiating fine deviations about the normal, only the ones which are very marked are classified as abnormal. Such an individual may be lacking in basic adjustment in only one phase of his total mental life, yet this may be so serious in its effects as to unfit him for normal social life.

CHIEF TYPES OF ABNORMALITY.—All abnormals may be generally classed as those having mental diseases, hence their analysis is a function of medical study. In a sense, each individual is a unique case, with certain distinctive causal backgrounds (etiology), symptoms, and prognosis of future development of the disease. Most mental diseases are, however, subject to classification with fair exactness.

THE NEUROTIC

A common type of the abnormal is the *neurotic*. One of this type is said to have a *neurotic constitution* which predisposes him toward strong and uncontrolled emotional outbursts. Although many of those with neurotic tendencies may make some adjustment to life, they are greatly handicapped even under normal conditions, and are likely to be thrown off their balance when undue strain is put upon them. It is estimated that about 5 per cent of the cases are very serious and in need of attention. Although the neurotic may manifest certain characteristic symptoms such as timidity, oversensitiveness, excitability, eccentricity, and perversions, some succeed in hiding or masking their disorder under an assumed boldness, cruelty, dignity, and control. Only under stress does their real tendency become manifest.

Some attempt to distinguish the individual who is neurotic from one who is merely *emotionally unstable,* but this is not easily done. While the former is a matter of neural organization, the latter is considered to be the result of extreme activity of organs contributing to the emotions such as the endocrine glands. The former evidence their neuroses only in response to certain stimuli, while the latter consistently and rather continuously evidence each emotional states as fear, anger, extreme joy, or their opposites.

THE INTROVERT

The *introvert* is an individual who tends to look inward and to be concerned with his own thoughts and feelings, in contrast with the *extrovert,* who concerns himself only with the outer world of events, acts, things, and people. Some would classify all mankind under one or the other of these heads, but it is evident that the normal individuals keep a proper balance between the two tendencies. The extreme introvert is readily distinguishable. He builds up a dream world which is not at all like reality. He derives no pleasure, but only distress, from ordinary social intercourse, and tends to criticize society and withdraw from it. He broods, contemplates his misfortunes, and indulges in a great variety of imaginings. Symptoms are exaggerated when the patient is also neurotic.

There are many different types of introverts, depending upon the particular form of expression which dominates. He may absolve himself from all responsibility for wrong acts or other personal defects by *projection;* i. e., by blaming others for them, or by shifting the fault to circumstances. He may belittle the achievements and possessions of others and thus exhibit the *"sour grapes" tendency.* He may really desire such goods himself but hides the desire by ridicule. In his daydreams he satisfies his desires by thinking of himself as a *"conquering hero"* who achieves wonders in the world, although in reality he shrinks from any such actual activity. This tendency extends to other phases of life in his inclination to *identify* himself with the great characters of history, literature, and drama. He may be obsessed with the *conviction of persecution* by others and derive a great deal of satisfaction from contemplation of himself as a *suffering martyr.* A passive type of introvert is represented by those who take the attitude that everything in life is for the best. They maintain the pretense of supreme satisfaction with life, even though their real conditions are miserable. While the *"Pollyanna" tendency,* as it is called, is an agreeable type, it makes for self-deception and separation from reality.

A prominent characteristic of the introvert is rationalization. He argues himself into believing what he wants to believe regardless of facts. In addition to the basic urges to self-assertion and dominance which he is inadequate to fulfil, he is characterized by a marked tendency to self-defense. Many "normal" individuals exhibit some of these tendencies and types, and their behavior must be interpreted in the light of such analyses. In the extreme form the abnormality borders on, and in fact, becomes insanity.

The extrovert may also develop manias of activities and interests in his objective behavior, so that he fails to make the proper personal adjustment to the real world or recognition of the rights of others. Napoleon was obsessed with attaining an objective goal and applied all of his energy and enthusiasm to this end without regard to considerations of humanity.

MULTIPLE PERSONALITY

Striking examples of the schizoid type of the abnormal, or those with "split personality" are merely extreme instances of a quite common tendency. Another name for this is dissociation. The individual builds up two or more personalities, each dissociated from the other. This type was noted and described on a preceding page (p. 246).

INSANITY

The *insane* person is one of the general class of *dements,* or those who have lost their mental powers after having had them, as distinguished from the *aments,* or those who were born with a defective mentality. Progressive degeneration of mental functions may take the form of feeble-mindedness, or lack of balance and control of imaginal and thought elements. The condition is true insanity when it is an extreme deviate from the normal, even though it may lead to the loss of general mental ability.

There are many different types of insanity. The condition may be temporary, periodic, or permanent. It may be remediable or irremediable. One may evidence a true mania, even to the point of violence, with the attention constantly centered upon the one object or idea. Another may be characterized by a diffusion of attention, with no power to hold one idea for any length of time. One may reason very logically from basic assumptions which are unsound, while another, starting from true premises, has no control over the process of reasoning, but substitutes flights of imagination. One may be highly excitable, active, and unmanageable, while another is calm, passive, and docile.

Three common types of dementia are: *dementia precox,* which occurs in youth, or before the age of twenty-five as a rule; *paranoia,* usually a dementia of early mature years; and *senile dementia,* which is a gradual decay of mental functions in later life. Any of these forms of dementia may be characterized by delusions, but paranoia is distinctively so. The patient imagines himself to be Napoleon or Lincoln or some other great or wealthy man (*delusions of grandeur*), or he may consider himself greatly persecuted by someone or by all people. He commonly has hallucinations or voices, of people, and of wealth which add to his certainty. Such dements are often harmless, but sometimes, in order to achieve some desired end, it may be to rid themselves of persecution, they may become violent and murderous.

HYSTERIA

This is an abnormal state which is very closely associated with nervous instability, in fact often indistinguishable from it. It is often a direct consequent or accompaniment of a nervous breakdown, but may be exhibited by those of good neural constitution. A common concept of *hysteria* is that it is marked by loss of emotional control, as in violent and prolonged seizures of crying or laughing. As a matter of fact hysteria has a much wider scope than this. Almost any form of nervous disease or defect may be imitated, although there is no organic basis for the apparent difficulty. Thus one may be suffering from "paralysis," sensory or motor, in such a way as to deceive others as well as the patient himself. In a sudden crisis the power to feel or move suddenly returns, showing that the disease was not a true case of organic paralysis. In the same way deafness or blindness may be imitated. A child early learned to disregard her mother's commands which were displeasing. When this was eventually interpreted as deafness the special attention and sympathy which were showered upon her were found very pleasing. "Blindness" followed with still more pleasant effects. As the girl grew older she received a great deal of notoriety because she was able to understand speech through feeling vibrations in objects which the speaker touched, and to smell colors. She was later "cured" of both blindness and deafness by faith-healing[1] in religious meetings. Insanity also may be imitated by the hysteria patient.

ABNORMALITY DUE TO PHYSICAL DISORDERS

Attention has previously been called to such disorders as aphasia, amnesia, and aboulia, or inability to make certain associations, to remember, and to decide. When these become very prominent or generalized in the individual he is decidedly abnormal in his mental life. Some tendencies to illusion are common to all, and therefore normal, while others may be incidental to disordered mental states.

Common childhood diseases, such as scarlet fever, spinal meningitis, infantile paralysis, and sleeping sickness may be the cause of serious subsequent mental deficiency. This is one reason why these diseases inspire such fear on the part of parents. Inflammation of the brain may leave blood clots or scars which interfere with normal functioning. Water on the brain (*hydrocephaly*) may be a consequent of such diseases. This usually results in idiocy. In some instances the head becomes very large (*macrocephaly*) and in others very small (*microcephaly*). In some cases the brain itself atrophies; in other cases, although the brain grows to large size, the centers are gradually paralyzed because of the intense pressure to which they are subjected.

Syphilis and syphilitic poisoning are common causes of dementias. This disease infests the bloodstream and the cerebrospinal fluid, and the delicate nerve tissue is especially susceptible to degeneration as a result. *Paresis,* or softening of the brain, is a disease in which there is a gradual loss of mental powers, passing through various stages of lunacy, aphasias, amnesias, idiocy, and paralysis to its last stage when vital centers give way.

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[1] The essence of faith-healing is suggestion. The mind can cure what the mind causes. Consequently, not all diseases and disorders yield to this kind of treatment.

Epilepsy is a disease which is marked by periodic seizures in which the patient loses consciousness, becomes rigid or writhes as though in agony and froths at the mouth. As time goes on the seizures tend to come more frequently. The disease is related to this discussion because there is usually a gradual decay of mental powers as a result. It is probably traceable to hereditary and especially glandular disorders.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE ABNORMAL.—From a social point of view, the care of those who become a burden upon society because they are unable to fulfil their normal functions requires a great share of the time and energy which might otherwise be devoted to productive enterprises for the general social good. There are about 250,000 mentally diseased cared for in institutions of the United States. In addition there are many others who are under private care; those who are not extreme and those who are incurable. Society is also under the necessity of enduring inefficiency, correcting the errors as far as possible, and suffering the acts of crime which are committed by those who are mentally ill. The influence of neuropathic conditions on crime is becoming so well known that the plea of insanity is almost always used by the defense in criminal cases as an extenuating circumstance. In this way, sometimes, the culprit is sent to the asylum rather than to the penitentiary, only to be shortly released from custody as cured. In many cases the ends of justice are thus evaded and the public left unprotected.

From the personal point of view mental abnormality makes for great unhappiness, both for the patient and his associates. Only in perfect adjustment is true contentment possible. The neurotic individual may carry on his ordinary functions fairly well, even under his handicap, but the tortures which he endures can hardly be appreciated fully by one who has always taken a wholesome, normal, attitude toward life. The difference between success and failure is often merely a slight lack of adjustment with its attendant train of consequences.

THE CAUSES OF ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR.—Some of the leading causes of mental disorders have been indicated in the description of the various types. Each case must be individually diagnosed by someone who is qualified by thorough medical and psychological training. By all means quacks and pseudo-scientists must be avoided.

Some cases of neurosis and insanity are predetermined by heredity. There appear to be fundamental structural weaknesses which make the onset and progress of the disease inevitable. Other cases are attributable to congenital influences. Lack of nourishment, poisoning of the general organism and the nervous system in particular, syphilitic infection, and other accidents of the pre-natal life may be noted as common causes. By far the greater number of mental disorders are chargeable to environmental conditions. Even though a child be born with a basic physiological tendency to neurotic instability he may not manifest an actual developed abnormality unless there are contributing circumstances.

Many children who come into the world with perfect neural structure and functions are destined to become abnormal to a more or less serious degree as a result of the experiences which they will meet. Such experiences may include diseases or accidents which injure the delicate fibers of the nervous system. Extreme fatigue incident to continued application to study, or to intense emotional activity may lead to a nervous breakdown which may involve a series of nervous disorders, and manifest itself, not merely in physical ways such as insomnia, lack of motor control, and nervousness, but also in distinctly mental eccentricities such as manias, susceptibility to suggestion, aggravated emotional reactions, and hysterias.

A very frequent cause of abnormality is the training of a child which fails to give him attitudes and skills favorable to adaptation. The "spoiled child" who has always had his own way is faced with a crisis when he finds it necessary to adjust to the will of others. He is handicapped by his past habits which have been based upon control of others rather than adaptation to them. If he can make the proper adaptation, even after a struggle which may require a long time, he reaches normalcy. If not, he is destined to meet with bitter disappointment and even anger or fear, which further unfits him for social life. General mental disorganization naturally follows. In the same way, a man may have become adjusted to a certain level of vocational and social life. By a turn of circumstances he finds himself "down and out." If he can make the adjustment happily to another level, there is hope for his future; if not, he becomes a wreck of his former self, drifting with the current. Whether he shall become a vagrant, a bitter and disgruntled workman, a criminal, or a suicide, depends upon many factors within himself and his environment. In any case, he has not a normal reaction.

Psychoanalysis has aided greatly in the study of the abnormal, however much it may have confused certain issues and given erroneous interpretations. Freud was the pupil of Charcot and Janet, neurologists of Paris, and from them derived the inspiration for establishing the psychoanalytic method. It has now become widespread, both on the Continent and in the United States. Scientific psychology agrees that much abnormal behavior arises from the conflict between demands of society and the desires of the individual, but ascribes these desires to all of the basic urges and habits and attitudes of the individual, rather than merely to sex or rivalry motives. While not admitting the existence of the subconscious, the psychologist recognizes marginal consciousness and prepotent tendencies in the organism in the form of muscular tensions.[2]

THE TREATMENT OF NEUROPATHIC CASES.—It must be admitted that some cases are incurable. This is especially true of certain forms of insanity and paresis. Medical authorities are more unwilling than formerly to admit the incurable nature of the disease. Many cases which would once have been regarded as hopeless have been found to yield to proper care. There have been many instances of those who have been brought back from insanity, and others who have been saved from it by remedial treatment of psychological and medical nature.

Most cases of neuroses, nervous instability, hysteria, introversion, and similar states which have been brought on by environmental situations acting upon one who has either a neurotic or a normal constitution are amenable to treatment, at least to some degree. Drugs and medicines may have their place, as a means of aiding a healthy bodily foundation and a tonus favorable to improvement. Attention is being given more and more to psychological treatment (*psychotherapy*) in some form.

The older custom of herding the abnormal of all types, including those with persistent manias, raving and mild cases, permanent and temporary or periodic insane, and those with marked neuroses or mere tendencies to insanity, together into one large asylum is rapidly passing. It is recognized that the abnormals have a bad influence upon each other. In fact, epidemics of *psychogenic disorders* may spread throughout a group by the power of suggestion and imitation.

It is further well established that the patient should be located in pleasant, well-lighted, cheerful scenes, with gardens and wild life which will provide a diversity of interests. Such surroundings tend to provoke objectivity in contrast with the barren surroundings and communal life of the old asylum which left the individual no alternative but introspection, and which developed still further the anti-social reactions.

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[2] For a more complete description of psychoanalysis see pages 194–195.

There is a growing insistence on purposeful activity and forgetfulness of self as contrasted with prolonged idleness and opportunity for brooding. *Occupational therapy* has now become a distinct and valuable branch of the nursing profession which is being applied with much profit to mentally diseased patients. Such activities must of course be adapted to the strength, interests, and abilities of the patients.

In view of the suggestive character of neuropaths, and the importance of suggestion as a cause of their trouble, suggestion is likewise used as a means of cure. This usually takes the form of optimistic statements regarding the future, as well as the assumption of a cheerful attitude on the part of those who come into contact with them. Suggestion is found to operate more forcibly sometimes when the patient is in an *hypnotic* or semi-hypnotic (*hypnoidal*) state, for then there are not so many distractions and inhibitions. Hypnotism is a means of securing a temporary dissociation between the higher mental functions and the immediate focal consciousness. The individual becomes passive, loses his self-direction and rational powers, and accepts readily the suggestions that are given him. These suggestions persist long after the hypnosis has been removed.

Mere suggestion is sometimes inadequate. There must be an active search for the particular "block," fear, or desire which is the seat of the difficulty. In case ordinary memory is not effective to trace the history of the development, or if the facts of causative agents are not known, hypnotism is again made use of. In this state memory may be very clear, the patient being led to retrace his past life to the critical points. This being known, suggestion may then be used to remove the trouble.

MENTAL HYGIENE.—In recent years the emphasis has shifted from the treatment and cure of mental disorders to the prevention of them. Analysis of cases has revealed the fact that the great majority could have been forestalled by the proper application of sound psychological principles. This means, of course, that there should be proper direction from early childhood through adolescence, in the home, school, and general social relationships. As the science of psychology becomes better known to the public there will be a growing knowledge of and skill in its use to the end of normal mental living.

In case the individual exhibits no marked aberrant symptoms, it is commonly assumed that his development is normal. Only when he suddenly does something which is very erratic is attention called to his maladjustment. A youth who has been a model of behavior may commit a crime, attempt suicide, manifest symptoms of hysteria or paranoia, or in some way evidence some type of neurosis. Even though absolute prevention cannot be achieved, mental hygiene points the way to stopping the development of the disease to more serious stages, when it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible to cure. Many famous characters have manifested neurasthenic symptoms, sometimes called "temperament," but such characteristics have not been the cause of greatness. Greatness was achieved in spite of the handicap. Many apparently normal individuals have tendencies toward psychoneuroses which may be kept from developing.

Some of the preventive measures which must be kept in mind and applied, especially with nervous children, are:

1. Thorough physical diagnosis and removal of such contributing causes as adenoids, defective teeth, indigestion, malnutrition, and poor vision.
2. Absorption in objective activity which will prevent introspection and self-consciousness, and at the same time develop initiative and a sense of mastery.
3. Let the activities be of such a nature that they will not be too difficult. In this way they will build self-confidence rather than a sense of inferiority.

4. Let these tasks be of interest to the child so that he takes a keen enjoyment in the work and becomes thoroughly absorbed in it.
5. Elimination of strong emotional experiences which will tend to upset the balance of the individual. All ordinary causes of fear and anger should be avoided and the person should be guided into calm and controlled attitudes.
6. Hygienic habits of rest, sleep, regularity of eating, outdoor life, exercise, elimination, and the like should be maintained.
7. The avoidance of worry is essential. This means that the individual learns to live in the present, with no regrets for the past or anticipation of the future except as the future shall hold cheerful prospects.
8. Cultivate a sense of humor. This is largely a matter of habit-formation. It is those who take themselves and their world very seriously who are subject to nervous disorders.
9. Substitute wholesome activities for desires which cannot be met directly. This is called "sublimation." In other words turn the great yearnings and urges into socially useful channels.
10. Face reality. This may involve a rather rigid discipline which will allow no day dreaming, vacillation, or hiding of facts.
11. Provide some means of real communion with friends or advisors. He who never confides in another is in much greater danger of neurasthenia than one who does. This should not be carried to such an extreme as to cultivate dependence.
12. Establish normal and wholesome social relationships. Supervise such contacts to see that free activity is maintained and no unusual or extreme inhibitions operate.

Each individual must be treated in the light of his particular needs. This means an effective diagnosis and prescription as with any other diseased condition. Sometimes the patient may be taken into one's confidence and a thorough coöperation be established. In other instances the treatment must be carried on without calling attention of the patient to the procedure. One who is fully aware of the whole situation and his own condition may apply the treatment to himself systematically with good results. There is a tendency for many, especially among adolescents, to brood over their own condition, their deviations from the normal, without realizing that such deviations are common to all, particularly during the emotional stresses of life. One may imagine himself afflicted with many ills of the mind and body, and discover symptoms which do not actually exist, or which are in themselves of no permanent significance.

Religion and Abnormal Behavior.—Religious attitudes may be the cause of mental abnormalities, as well as the prevention and the cure of such abnormalities. The religious experience touches the emotional life so deeply and at so many points, it is no wonder that religious manias of many kinds develop. They may take the form of extreme ritualistic devotion, overemphasis on mystic spiritual experiences, abnegation and self-torture, asceticism and withdrawal from human society, and other abnormal states. However essential a "bad conscience" may be as a means of guidance to the good life, it often becomes a contributing factor to unbalance. Fear of future punishment, the conviction that the Lord is even now pursuing them with vengeance, the consciousness of evil done or of good left undone, may lead many to extreme torture and unhappiness. When such experiences are suffered in secret and silence, as is often the case, the individual may develop a complex and even resort to suicide as an ultimate attempt at adjustment.

From another point of view, religious attitudes foster abnormal tendencies among some who find in religion a retreat from reality. These refuse to face life as it actually is, but find their satisfactions in living in a dream world of the ideal. The best preventive of such ineffective living is a wholesome emphasis upon social activity and service, and a forced recognition of the beauty, dignity, and heroism found in facing the stern tasks, privations, and struggles of life in common with their fellows. Religion should never be allowed to become a mere soporific, deadening the sensibilities of and contacts with the workaday world.

A brighter picture of the effects of religious belief is found when one views its beneficient influences. It has provided a vital center of strong faith for countless millions, holding them balanced and steadfast in the face of most discouraging conditions. In the words of Carlyle, "Faith is properly the one thing needful . . . with it, martyrs, otherwise weak, can cheerfully endure the shame and the cross; and, without it, worldlings puke up their sick existence, by suicide, in the midst of luxury." A faith which provides an optimistic view of the future, and which imparts to one a confidence born of the fact that the Divine powers are fighting on his side, is not conducive to brooding, worry, or a sense of inferiority.

Hardly of less significance is the spirit of resignation and self-renunciation which obtains in most religions, in which one's personal desires are subjugated to the Divine will. Normally this attitude provides a happy solution when one's strivings are blocked, and a wholesome adjustment to the cruel realities of life. This is especially true in case the individual's will is kept active in the attainment of those ends which he deems good. "My peace I give unto you," is no idle promise. It is a psychological fact which has been a means of true mental hygiene for countless numbers of believers. Religious services have provided at least weekly opportunities for a large share of the world's population to gain new vigor and hope for the conflict of life. Confessions and communion are means of relieving repressions and inhibitions which the psychoanalyst cannot hope to surpass.

The emphasis which religion and religious leaders generally place upon social service is wholesome in that it is an objective tendency and hence a corrective of predispositions to introspection. The setting of a social goal through the accomplishment of the Kingdom of God in which evil and poverty and unhappiness will be eliminated gives an abundant outlet for the sublimation of all unsatisfied yearnings.

Questions and Exercises

1. In regarding your own experiences note particular tendencies toward abnormal behavior, such as morbid brooding, inferiority consciousness, and nervous breakdowns. How was balance maintained? Can you trace such tendencies to a definite cause?
2. Why is it that "normal" individuals with much experience should be able truly to sympathize with those who are neuropathic? Can the true extrovert sympathize with the introvert?
3. Note and describe cases of various types of the abnormal that have come to your attention.
4. Someone has said that "queer" people naturally gravitate to religious organizations. Do you think this is true? Give arguments pro and con, and indicate how you would go about it to find the facts.
5. Develop the concept of faith-healing as a form of psychotherapy. Why is the attitude of faith superior to that of mere resignation? What may result in case faith is not rewarded by favorable results?
6. Can psychotherapy hope to effect cures of disorders which are the result of inherited or organic defects?
7. The failures, drifters, tramps and "down and outers" who fill the breadlines, missions, and charitable institutions are commonly regarded as by-products of economic conditions. Are they not largely problems in maladjustment who are in need of treatment along lines of mental hygiene?
8. Outline an educational program which will effectively direct the adjustment of childhood and youth. What would be the personal and social outcomes of such a program?
9. Some authorities have noted a marked increase of neuras-

thenic disorders in recent years. In case this is true, to what would you ascribe it?

10. Show the care that must be used in the selection of stories told to young children and indicate the reasons.

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CHAPTER XX

SOCIAL GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS

Hail, social life! into thy pleasing bounds I come to pay the common stock, my share of service, and, in glad return, to taste thy comforts, thy protected joys.

JAMES THOMSON

IMPORTANCE OF A KNOWLEDGE OF SOCIETY.—Psychologists have been greatly concerned with the study of the individual, and have neglected the adequate study of the social group and man as related to society. In view of the fact that an individual can be fully interpreted only as a member of society, and that he reaches his fulfilment through mingling in society and not as an isolated unit, it is evident that the emphasis has been misplaced. The sociologist and social psychologist is at present undertaking to expand the knowledge in this field.

The history of mankind is primarily the record of social movements and activities. At times individuals have arisen who have made a lasting impress upon society. Society has in turn impressed the many individuals of whom it has been composed. The point of interest throughout all historical study, however, is the conduct and status of social groups and their relation to each other.

Society may be regarded as a larger individual, a macro-organism. It is evident that a knowledge of how individuals act in the mass, and the discovery of laws of social behavior, would aid greatly in social adjustments and control, both of the individual and social groups. Only in comparatively recent times has there been any definite recognition that the trend of society may be controlled and directed in the interest of the common good. Even to-day there is the tendency passively to accept the outcomes of social movements without question and with no attempt at understanding or modification. One is apt to be impressed with the soulless irresistibility of society and the need for blind submission to its dictates. Only through an adequate knowledge of society is the right kind of adjustment of individuals to groups and of groups to groups, made possible.

The Origin of Social Groups.—Man is naturally gregarious. He does not like to be alone. Normally he enjoys working and living in association with others. Isolation is the severest type of privation. Society begins when two or more individuals establish companionship. It is inconceivable that mankind ever existed without some form of society.

The group is the social unit. The group exists in many different forms and in all stages of complexity. Groups may be organized more or less perfectly, or be unorganized. They may be permanent or temporary.

One of the simplest and most persistent groups in society is that of the kinship group, or tribe. Individuals at first banded together as the natural outworking of the gregarious tendency. As the size of the group increased and common problems of food supply and protection multiplied the members became more strongly united and coöperative. A leader would arise, or would be chosen, and clothed with certain authorities. In time he often came to a position of absolute authority and was regarded as a god. Individuals in the group were subjected to the will of the whole and their lives ordered for the good of the whole. There was practically no freedom for the individual. Gradually the members of the group were organized into smaller groups, each of which were given specific functions, such as hunting and the getting of food, the conducting of warfare against other tribes, and the oversight of the simple domestic life. In the more advanced tribes the priestly group took over the religious duties originally performed by the chief, and the group of elders assumed the government or aided the chief in it.

The family group is usually thought of as the most primitive of groups. But the mating of a man and woman was at first a very temporary grouping. The child of such a mating became the property of the tribe and even the mother's interest in her offspring was of passing significance. Only later did man become monogamous and true family life begin. Even where the family group became recognized by the tribe it was made subject to the will of the tribe and in its interests.

The racial group is a natural development from the tribe or clan. Various factors may bring about the union of different tribes of the same racial blood and background, even though these tribes may have been in conflict with each other. A common cause is the intrusion of those of another race who may be regarded as a common enemy. As a rule the tribes persist as groups within the racial group, but subject to it. A more complex organization now takes place with a comparatively intricate pattern of delegated functions. The racial group may persist, even though it may lose its governmental aspects and be scattered through various lands. History provides no better illustration of this than the remarkable record of the Jewish people.

The nation is the most highly organized group known. It may be composed chiefly of the people of a single race, or several different races amalgamated in the interest of the common good. There may be economic reasons for such an organization, or it may be effected by some great leader or conqueror in an artificial manner as a means of extending his power. A nation may exist as a single compact state, or as a confederation of states. It may be governed in various ways from a tyranny or an absolute monarchy to a true democracy.

The world has recently noted a most significant movement toward the organization of international groups, such as the League of Nations and the World Court. This appears to be the next logical step in development. Whether such groups are possible as permanent organizations, and as significant agencies of world union has yet to be determined.

Social Institutions and Subsidiary Groups.—In order that society may develop and fulfil its functions a great variety of institutions are necessary. Necessity is the mother of invention here as elsewhere. In such institutions society finds a means of meeting the problems which arise and also of perpetuating the customs, traditions, and records of the group. They provide greater continuance and permanence than would otherwise have been possible. Some of these institutions will be briefly noted. In the most cases the institution demands the organization of a group or groups for its administration.

Language may be regarded in a sense as an institution of society. It gradually arose in the spoken form from simple sounds combined with gesture or sign language. These sounds are associated with actions or objects and thus become words. The association of words into complete sentences and the development of grammatical rules for speech forms are much later developments. Written language developed apparently from pictographs or hieroglyphs which originally designated objects or events, but which later became the alphabet forms. As writing developed in complexity it became a highly specialized art. In all primitive societies it is generally intrusted to a special group of scribes who keep a record and carry on such correspondence as is needed. The primary motive for all language is that of communication and expression of oneself to others. It has provided a valuable service to the stability of groups and the perpetuation of their records.

Religious institutions will be discussed in a later chapter. They have existed from earliest times in all stages of man's development. Although the forms of these institutions have greatly varied through the ages, the general underlying purpose has been the same; that of relating the group and the members of the group to the unseen and mysterious forces of the world. At times serving the interest of the ruling class or other special groups, and at other times those of the individual member of society, these institutions have ever been most potent in the development of society.

Educational institutions have always existed in one form or another, from the time that the primitive warrior or hunter first taught the young boy to throw a stone. Early education was at first unorganized and incidental and conducted by the members of the group. Later such training was conducted by the elders of the tribe or other delegated individuals, and at last the school came into being and developed in a variety of forms. In addition to the school, many modern institutions of society, such as the church, the newspaper, the social club, and the fraternal society, are recognized as active educational agencies.

Manufacturing institutions involving the use of tools of gradually increasing complexity arose, as did also commercial institutions, with systems of barter and exchange, money, trade centers, caravans, and shipping interests. Governmental institutions of a great variety have arisen and succeeded one another in the life history of any people, changing according to the felt needs. Institutions of war, including armies and navies, have played a tremendous part in social life and destiny.

Society develops institutions in much the same way that individuals take on habits and systems of behavior. Sometimes they arise as a spontaneous response to environment having their roots in basic instinctive tendencies, in other cases they come through the forced imposition of a leader or conqueror, or as a normal imitation and acceptance of traditional usage. Like habit, the institution may be considered the "fly wheel" of society, tending toward stability. Similar to habit, the institution and the groups who hold vested interests in maintaining it are most resistant of change and the very virtue of stability may interfere with social progress. This is especially true of the miscellaneous institutions of custom and tradition, the social pattern of a people. "Custom doth make dotards of us all."

SYMBOLS.—The symbol has played a great part in social development. It is a spoken or written sign, a picture, or an object around which has gathered significant meaning, so that it stands for some idea, act, or emotional attitude. The alphabet is a set of symbols which take the place of vocal sounds. Corresponding to the alphabet, words, grammatical forms, and punctuation signs, are those symbols used in music and the numbers, process signs, and formulæ used in mathematics. Such symbols are effective agents of simplification and abbreviation of thought and expression, hence have greatly facilitated progress.

The symbols which are especially potent are those which have accumulated a wealth of meaning for large groups and which are laden with emotional significance. The symbol may be the standard of a family group or lineage, such as a coat of arms. It may be the standard about which a nation is clustered, and which comes to represent the aims and ideals of the group. The flag is more than a piece of cloth. It is regarded as an inviolable type of the national life and aspirations. It flies in the forefront of battle and is honored on all state occasions. To "die for the flag" is considered an honor; to mistreat or degrade the flag is comparable with treason. Institutions develop symbols which henceforth proclaim to the world the central thought and work of the institutional groups. All members of a particular group are enrolled under this banner or emblem. Of chief significance in this connection are the religious symbols. Christianity has for many centuries employed the cross, a symbol which is filled with significant meaning relative to the sacrificial origins and ideals of the group. With its aid the religious concepts of the group have been more widely spread over the earth than would otherwise have been possible. The Crusades were dramatic conflicts between the cross and the crescent. In the same way the minor religious groups have each developed unique symbols which tend to set them apart from each other, involving rites and ceremonials as well as emblems and slogans.

The significant fact about such symbols is their power of enforcing the concentrated attention of the group. They are unifying agencies. Emotions are heightened by them. Loyalty is increased. They are highly suggestive and lead to many imitative responses which are in harmony with them. The truths which they represent are accepted without question or reflection. Symbols become old and lose their significance. They are then gradually discarded or are given new meaning in other associations.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY.—The story of social development has been a record of the adjustment of the individual to the social group of which he is a member. The great problems of society are largely concerned with this relationship. From one point of view, the individual may be regarded as a comparatively insignificant item in the mass; his desires, his needs and good, even his life being made subject to the good of the whole. He can have no freedom of behavior, except such as will contribute directly or indirectly to the common welfare. From another point of view, the social group is considered as fulfilling its functions only when it establishes and insures the happiness and well-being of each individual member. A social order may be judged according to the extent to which it meets this criterion.

When an individual becomes a member of a group, he finds it necessary or advisable to sacrifice his particular interests and to modify his activities in terms of group demands. He finds, or is taught, that many of his natural tendencies, whether inborn or acquired, are not in harmony with the social will. If he does not restrain or otherwise modify these tendencies he becomes a misfit. On the other hand, if he does do so, he must surrender some of his initiative and personal freedom. The adaptation is not always easy of accomplishment. Whether it is done or not depends upon the individual's good will toward society. It is basically a matter of attitude. If a child is born into a certain social group, reared in it and carefully trained by it, the task of adjustment is rather automatic, except in minor matters or in case of conditions which provoke an open revolt. In the same way, when one willingly and deliberately adopts a social group as his own, his mental set is generally favorable to submission. On the other hand, if one is forced to belong without direct interest or consciousness of free choice, there is likely to be a predisposition toward rebellion and resentment at all demands for submission.

The means which society employs or may employ as a means of enforcing its dictates upon the individual and of making him a socially coöperating unit are noted in a later chapter on Social Control. They involve many forms of social disfavor as well as the setting up of an elaborate system of law under which the individual may be tried for guilt and effectively punished, in the case of real or persistent offences of a serious nature. Every society, from earliest times, has had its codes of morals as well as its customs and traditions which, whether written or unwritten, act as guides of rights and duties which must not be violated.

Group self-consciousness tends to give every member a sense of responsibility. In its higher forms it leads to a realization that one is, in a very real sense, his "brother's keeper." The individual becomes identified with the group, and is inspired to work and act for the common good. The church group, the Boy Scout troup, and the fraternal organization are illustrations of groups which emphasize this relationship when properly functioning. The larger and more diffuse the group, the more difficult it is to spread and make effective the ideals of brotherhood.

The misfits in society are a multitude, and provide some of the most serious problems. Some of these society can control and provide remedial treatment for; others demand some form of adaptation of society to meet their needs. Among the misfits may be named: the criminal, the ones who come into personal strife and antagonism, the cripple, the diseased, the poor, the feeble-minded and mentally deranged, the professional beggar, and the idlers. He who cannot or does not contribute his share of service and work for the common good is a parasite upon society. A healthy society demands that all members produce as well as consume, at least to the limit of their powers. Social groups are learning to take an intelligent attitude toward all misfits, to study the individual case and the causes which have produced it, to supply effective remedies wherever possible and remove the productive causes, and to provide asylums and care for those cases which are not remediable.

Conflicts of Social Groups.—From time immemorial warfare has been the rule. Primitive tribes fought to the death for the possession of territory and the maintenance of tribal life, even as nations to-day engage in world wars. The tendency to war is the outgrowth of basic instincts for competition and mastery, and is as natural a development in primitive social groups as quarrels are among children. Wars may be offensive or defensive, but it is sometimes as difficult to decide on the offending party as it is to determine who is responsible for the beginning of a quarrel. A nation may be just as truly a "bully" as any swaggering youth. Even as children grow up and at least learn to settle their differences by arbitration or resort to law instead of fighting, it is the hope of humanity that nations may reach maturity and outgrow the childish tendency to battle on the field of war.

War has been so commonly recognized as a function of the state that society has developed elaborate institutions and agencies of war. Invention has always been actively applied to the discovery of superior tools and tactics, that success might be insured. Besides armies and navies with their membership composed of those trained in the art of war, there have been developed an amazing array of the tools of war; including clubs, axes, spears, bows and arrows, catapults, armor, swords, gunpowder, cannon, tanks, and poison gases. An amazing amount of human energy and wealth has been directed to this end, and there has been an appalling wastage of life.

As civilization has developed mankind has come to realize the destructive character of war. It is conceived of as the greatest enemy of progress and happiness. It is increasingly difficult to arouse attitudes favorable to war, or to enlist citizenry in the conduct of war. Hatred among nations is not as readily stimulated or maintained as in the days when international commerce and communication were restricted. There is an increasing conviction that differences among nations may be settled in some other way. There is at present a world-wide move toward the upbuilding of these same attitudes. This is a basic step. The next logical step is the limitation of armaments, leading eventually to the elimination of institutions and agencies devoted to war. It is evident that as long as the tools of war exist there will be the tendency to make use of them, rather than resort to peaceful means.

From one point of view, war must be recognized as an instrument of progress. In the same way that conflict in one's mental life stimulates reasoning and activity, war has doubtless served to arouse the energy and productive power of peoples. A social group involved in war becomes more firmly united, especially if the action is in defense. A people will exert themselves to the utmost either to make glorious conquest or to repel the invader.

The fruits of such mental and physical activity carry over into social life in times of peace. The problems which come as a result of war which has been carried on stimulate discussion, reasoning, and decisions looking to the future. The chaotic periods succeeding wars appear most gloomy and forbidding at the time, but out of them is often born a brighter future.

Whether mankind could have progressed to the present stage without war is problematical. As a matter of fact, it has not done so, hence there are no data. It now appears that progress can be better secured by substitution of other lines of friendly rivalry for the fighting tendency. The making of war is now regarded as a bad habit, which must be uprooted by the application of the laws of learning, especially the law of effect, in which dissatisfaction is coupled with the experience of war, and satisfaction with its avoidance. Fear of other nations and distrust of their motives still continues to act as the motive for retaining a standing army and defensive armament. Only when this attitude is removed through mutual good will, as shown by act rather than promises, can such agencies of war be eradicated. Strictly speaking there is no such thing as a defensive army. As long as it exists there must always be the possibility of its being used as an agency of offense. If all nations are sincere in their detestation of war, and, in mutual compact, all assert that they do not intend to carry on offensive war, there is no logical reason to prevent all of them simultaneously scrapping their entire equipment of war, and devoting their energy and wealth instead to arts of peace. There can be no assurance of peace until this is accomplished. The horrors of war have increased so rapidly and its deadly grip on the world has spread so widely that there is now a readiness for its eradication, such as has never before existed. Whether or not it will be accomplished depends greatly on whether strong leadership is obtained.

Internecine wars such as rebellions, civil wars, and revolutions occur within a major group. These are ordinarily not so much a struggle for property, as for rights. Long continued oppression, real or imagined, results in the accumulation of strong emotional tendencies, until eventually they break all bounds. The strength of the resulting outburst is in direct proportion to the degree of repression. The mob is an unorganized mass of humanity in which the individual loses his identity and becomes one of a group dominated by strong emotions and impulses. The goal may be definite, but variable. The action may be carried to the greatest extremes. Mobs cannot be controlled by reason, but only by strong leadership which is able to arouse contrary emotions in the group. It is through such warfare that many of man's most prized liberties have come, but not all conflicts of this nature are a blessing, either in purpose or result. Social evolution is in every way advantageous. History provides no greater tragedy than that of a people, hitherto untrained in self-government, but successful in a revolutionary movement, and now faced with the necessity of rebuilding a state. Through many years of trial and error, involving a chaos of bloodshed, counter-revolutions, and inefficiency, they struggle to establish their ideal of government. They may reach the goal more quickly and surely than would otherwise have been possible, but always there remains the doubt, and the problem of finding a better way.

There are many other conflicts between the minor groups in society, such as those between capital and labor, races, political parties, religious organizations, and representatives of law and organized crime. Any of these conflicts may manifest itself in the form of intense rivalry, bitter antagonism, argument, and aggressive controversy, but all too frequently mob violence and open warfare have been resorted to. The milder conflicts between social classes, business interests, sectarian groups, schools and schools of thought, cities, athletic associations, and many others are more or less competitive and permeate the entire fabric of our social life. Such rivalry is recognized as natural and stimulating, with consequent benefit within certain limits. Society has established rules under which competition may be conducted, and the ideals of true sportsmanship obtain. The chief cautions are that strong unreasoning prejudices be avoided, that the emotions be kept under the proper control, and that ethical means shall always be used to achieve the ends in view. Intelligent, reflective, open-minded attitudes are the best preventive of overemphasis.

Social Progress.—Society is a continuing stream, originating in many sources, winding its way in many deviating and parallel beds, encountering whirl-pools, rapids, and cascades, at times devastating the landscape, and at other times flowing peacefully through beautiful valleys. Sometimes it winds and appears to be turning backward upon its course, so that the contemporary observer can never be sure what is its general trend. Only he who has a bird's eye view can tell whence it came or whither it is going. In spite of the claim of many that progress is a purely relative matter and cannot be measured, mankind generally conceives of society as moving forward toward an ideal goal, whether near or remote; a "millennium" of peace and happiness and plenty; a kingdom of God upon earth in which righteousness "shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." It is highly important that some ideal of this nature be maintained for the sake of its tonic effect, if for no other reason.

It may be neither desirable nor possible that a static goal of perfection be reached. It is certain however that society may be said to have progressed in the degree to which the individual members have gained the opportunities to develop to the full the mental capacities which they have possessed, and to control their conduct and emotional life in coöperative associations with their fellows. The goal must be stated in terms of these same values. Food, shelter, economic independence, work, mental and physical health, and freedom from fear and worry, contributing as they do to human happiness, are means toward this end. The ideal society must consist of individuals who have achieved a freedom of thought and action of which they are worthy and with which they may be trusted.

Questions and Exercises

1. Someone has said that emotions dominate social groups, and that inhibitory forces are not present to any great degree. Explain and illustrate.
2. Trace in detail the analogy of society and the individual in matters of growth and behavior.
3. Show the brutalizing effect of war. Do you think it likely that the World War was a marked influence in causing the "era of crime" which followed? Explain.
4. Analyze and explain psychologically the English policy of allowing the radicals to air their grievances and plans for revolt in public places without interference.
5. Why is it essential that our politicians should be replaced by real statesmen? Point out the need for a philosophy and science of government.
6. Is a real world union of religious societies possible. If so, under what conditions? Is the elimination of rivalry feasible or desirable?
7. Associate the story of the French or the Russian revolution with the discussion in this chapter.
8. Give a critical estimate of Jesus' doctrine of passive resistance from a psychological point of view.
9. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the formalism and resistance to change of all social institutions.

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CHAPTER XXI

PSYCHOLOGY OF LEADERSHIP

An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man.

EMERSON

The right of commanding is no longer an advantage transmitted by nature, like an inheritance; it is the fruit of labors, the price of courage.

VOLTAIRE

Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.

JESUS

LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS.—In an ideal society every individual must be both a leader and a follower, a producer as well as a consumer of what others produce. The art of leadership and the ability to accept leadership are fundamental requirements in all social relationships. Not all members of society can be leaders exclusively in all the multifarious affairs in which mankind engages, for leadership requires a following. Nor can any one individual be a leader in all these affairs. However effective he may be in a special field, he must recognize his dependence upon his fellows in many other fields. Progress is achieved through interdependence.

There is a common view that the leader alone is highly active, and that the one who is led must be essentially passive, as a sheep follows the bell-wether of the flock. This is a misconception, for one may give his best efforts and most deliberate endeavor in a devoted allegiance to the leader whom he accepts. It is seldom that one is merely a follower in such a situation. He is busily engaged in interpreting his leader to others, or securing the interest of others in the same allegiance.

THE PROVINCE AND FUNCTION OF LEADERSHIP.—The leader may establish his direction and control over an individual or over a group. Whenever one person influences another, he becomes a leader in the broadest usage of the term. Such influence may be executed with deliberation, or it may be all unconscious to all parties concerned. It may involve very critical and significant issues, or simple aspects of comparatively unimportant minutiae. It may be effective and thorough, or it may be carried out bunglingly and superficially.

One is commonly recognized as a leader only as he influences the behavior of social groups, and directs the processes of social control. In matters of thought, feeling, or action he becomes the outstanding figure, and inspires others with confidence in the value of that which he represents to them. The leadership of a group may be attained by establishing control over all of the individuals which compose the group, one by one independently. Again it may be established through the enthusiastic leadership of a few original followers, or it may come through the direct swaying of the mass mind, involving movements in which the individual of the group is lost sight of and the crowd acts as a larger individual or unit.

The battle for human progress has been continually fought between the leaders who are struggling for the fulfilment of worthy ideals and those who would lead mankind into ways which are harmful. It appears that this conflict is endless. The result at any period is largely determined by the relative strength of the competing leaders. The power of a leader is dependent upon his personality and methods to a great extent, and also upon his relation to the entire situation. It is commonly said that the "time, the place, and the man" are the factors that produce greatness. It is certain that one who would fail at one time of any recognition, will at another time, and in a different set of circumstances, attain wide note as a leader, although his essential character has not altered.

The leader is powerless to change the temper and psychological constitution of a social group. He can stimulate them to attitudes and actions and to a great extent direct their activities into specific channels, but throughout he must adapt himself to the "psyche" of the people if he would establish control. One cannot grasp the loyal following of the people of a nation by assailing their type of national life, or by ridiculing their heroes. He cannot make much headway with a phlegmatic group by frenzied emotional appeals, nor will a cold-blooded rational analysis lead to a control over naturally emotional folk.

Types of Leaders.—In a sense there are as many different types of leaders as there are kinds of personalities. Therefore any classification must be somewhat arbitrary, though suggestive of basic differences. Gault distinguishes between the *intellectual* and the *executive* leader: the former making his appeal through mental direction, such as imagination and reasoning; the latter placing the emphasis upon action. The former finds his authority in ideals and systems of logic, or more directly through emotional responses. The latter, with economic, governmental, or other vested power, gives orders which must be obeyed. Mental reactions are only incidental to the execution of directions, not the motivating agent. Both of these leaders may stimulate action. The executive leader will do so more surely, for the intellectual type may and commonly does stimulate thought, imagination, emotion, and ideals only to the extent of tendencies to act, rather than as translated into overt action. Activity which may eventually result is not so readily observable, and is consequently not appreciated.

Bernard points out the contrast between *personal* and *impersonal* leaders. The control of the former over his fellows is attained through personal contact and face-to-face meeting, as in conversation and public speaking. Here the full personality of the leader is brought into force. Personal acquaintance, however superficial it may be, becomes a factor which is vivid and highly significant. The impersonal leader works directly with things rather than with people. He may use the press or other social institutions to further his concepts, but he stays in the background and does not come into contact with individuals who accept his leadership.

A further distinction may be made between those who are recognized as *professional* leaders and those who are incidental and *amateur* in this capacity. It is possible for one to become obsessed with a passion for leadership, planning in every way possible to place himself at the head of groups and to take a very prominent part in affairs. Such a one is unhappy if required to take a secondary place and may submit to the direction of another with a very bad grace. Others, while not seeking leadership willingly assume such duties and obligations for control as their specific vocations call for, or as are imposed upon them in a natural way by other members of their social group. While the professional leader may attain a place of prominence and even lasting fame, the amateur leader probably holds much greater significance for general social progress. A man or woman who has been given leadership in human affairs as a tribute of respect by others is as a rule more dependable, and is likely to render more effective and unselfish service than the one who has intruded himself and imposed his leadership. In all great crises of mankind leaders arise spontaneously from the ranks. It is for such leadership that education should train the rank and file of the people, that they may have the right ideals, the proper sense of responsibility, and the most effective methods.

THE REWARDS OF LEADERSHIP.—There are many material rewards which are commonly associated with the function of command. He who has an authoritative position can often turn his control to business advantage and personal gain, as well as the general extension of power. This fact appeals to many who are willing to direct their ability for leadership to such ends. Some gladly seize any opportunity to exploit their fellows. In no sense does such leadership imply social service. Others, while willing to receive the material rewards which come from true leadership, insist primarily upon performing to the utmost the service to which their leadership obligates them.

The truest rewards of leadership are mental. There is a distinct sense of satisfaction in achieving such a position of recognition at the hands of one's fellows. It is no wonder that the leader is often subject to egotism, and that many who are altogether incompetent, struggle to attain and sometimes succeed in attaining places of trust and prominence. The joy which one takes in creative work of any kind also obtains here. One who leads others, even in small affairs, must realize, however vaguely, that human destinies are being determined for good or ill. If the leader is thoroughly convinced of the value of the concepts which he promulgates and is assured of their beneficent effect upon future generations as well as his own, he must take a peculiar satisfaction in the guidance which he carries on. Many shrink from assuming positions of responsibility because of the great risks involved in human happiness. If more of the leaders of men would recognize the sacredness of their responsibility, and be true to it, the great problems of humanity would readily be alleviated.

Qualities Which Characterize the Leaders.—Every normal person possesses traits which make him a potential leader. Whether such traits may be developed in such a way as to make him an actual leader in any significant relationships depends largely upon the environmental influences in habit formation. The qualities of a good leader are many, and there are few who may hope to attain anything like perfection in all of them.

He who would undertake to direct others or to influence human conduct, must be an inventor. No statement of psychological principles is in itself an adequate guide in specific situations. Human nature is so complex that the situations which may arise are infinite in number and variety. He who has the ability to organize and adapt his behavior in the light of the concrete needs of the moment, has a decided advantage over the one who is limited to the mere memory of facts or principles. No text can be a practical manual of essential conduct in the crises that arise daily in the work of ~~the teacher, the social worker, or~~ the minister. He must solve such crises himself.

Only through imagination is one enabled to gain the fullest insight into the needs and desires of others, or an understanding of their conduct. Putting oneself into another's place is a highly imaginative procedure. The adult often fails to understand the mind of the child or youth, not because he cannot recall the experiences of his own younger days, but because he does not integrate these memories into a system for interpretation. As a consequence he is unfitted to be an effective leader of youth. Many parents as well as teachers fail at this point.

Ability to focus the attention of an individual or group upon something of interest to them, or to stimulate their interest in some object or end which did not previously appeal to them is an important quality. In this connection one may note Bogardus' emphasis upon the characteristic of originality in appearance, thought, or conduct. This in itself will serve to fix the attention upon the leader who may then undertake to shift that attention to the desired end.

Earnestness and enthusiasm are magnetic, and contagious. Let an individual be sincerely and thoroughly convinced of the supreme value of concepts which he holds, and all ordinary inhibitions are overcome. He sells his ideas to others through oral and even written language. If at any time he should lose this inner conviction of worth, his power as a leader diminishes, regardless of his protestations and avowals of belief.

Not only should the leader have a cause which he deems worth while; he must regard himself as peculiarly fitted to espouse this cause. He must have a real self-confidence to inspire confidence in others. Over-confidence and blatant egotism are extreme attitudes to be avoided.

In all situations involving direct contacts, a pleasing personality is an asset. Especially noteworthy in this respect are a fine physique, energy and endurance, cheerfulness, a sense of humor, and winsomeness. An individual may be given responsibility in leadership because of popularity which he has achieved through such personality traits alone; it may then be discovered that he has no real qualities or abilities which are commensurate with the task.

Language ability sometimes plays an important part in leadership, either in written or oral forms. He who is able to use his vernacular readily and to convey exact meanings adapted to the group he wishes to reach has a decided advantage. The speaker who can order his words, thought, and gestures so as to make strong logical or emotional appeals has at his command a powerful tool.

The one who is characterized by a sympathetic understanding of his fellows, and a general humanitarian attitude is more apt to win the support of others than he who is cold-blooded and unresponsive. Such traits, must continue to be evidenced, not not merely by words, but by actual faithful devotion and the practice of personal mercy and justice. Great leaders in the world's progress have been those who are recognized as sincere lovers of mankind, yearning for and rejoicing in their happiness, and sorrowing with and pitying them in their defeats, even sharing with them as occasion requires in true benevolence.

Insight into human nature is invaluable. A person may have such insight naturally, or it may be developed and extended through the study of psychology. The leader needs to know, not only human nature in general, but also in particular cases. He should be a good judge of character and be able to decide very quickly what are the basic appeals which he must use in meeting the interests, urges, and hungers of the individual or the group. He should have foresight, not only as regards impending changes in conditions, but also in his estimates of the way in which people will probably respond in particular situations. He should be free from prejudices which interfere with his establishing close contacts with men, or which cause him to belittle their powers.

Patience and persistence, and sometimes courage, are called for. One can make no headway by impetuous forcing of issues, by bitterness, or by scolding. Ability to adapt and to reorganize one's point of view or methods, tactfulness, and resourcefulness are aids to leadership. The leader must often recognize that he has heretofore been pursuing the wrong method of attack and change accordingly. Many give up the struggle for control, completely discouraged, just as they are at the point of success, while others persist and are successful in establishing their leadership. It is possible that courage is inborn to some extent, but it is largely influenced by cumulative habits, and especially is it a by-product of the system of values which a person has established. A leader who is convinced of the supreme value of an espoused cause may count the derisions of his fellows and even attacks upon his reputation or physical well-being as of small relative significance. In the light of a great ideal to be achieved a small, reticent, retiring, and timid individual may be transformed into a bold and towering giant who sweeps all opposition before him.

The leader must have the ability to achieve. One who is original but does not possess initiative is only a dreamer. He may have admirers in abundance but few followers. If a leader is not efficient, he cannot long retain his position. He should take an active interest in making valuable suggestions as well as in receiving the suggestions of others. Furthermore he should set an example of desirable activity and be a model for others to follow. Moral leaders are expected to exemplify the principles they hold and emphasize, for it is recognized that imitation plays a major part in all leader-follower relationships.

Other qualities which are important are: mental flexibility, versatility of interests, ability to concentrate upon one objective, organized power which gives the followers definite responsibilities and preserves their initiative, adequate inhibitions and self-discipline, lack of self-consciousness, and faith in eventual success. A leader in a special field needs particular qualifications; for example, the teacher of youth (see p. 275).

Education for Leadership.—There is a common view that leaders are born, not made. While it is true that certain inherited traits may contribute to successful leadership, they will not do so unless the factors of environment provide the proper development. Those with fine potentialities for leadership may lose them as a result of unfortunate conditions, while those with comparatively meager powers may be trained to use these powers to the full in social obligations.

Life itself may be considered a training school for leadership. It is ruthless in the exaction of its demands, and doubtless eliminates the unfit without mercy. Educational agencies have long been planned with a view to preparation of young people for leadership in special fields, not merely serving as an introduction to life, but also as a means of implanting right ideals and methods of leadership. The schools of chivalry and court schools of the renaissance period, the monastic schools, schools for the training of gentlemen, military schools, our modern colleges and professional schools within the universities, and many others have all stressed the preparation for leadership. In this connection, however, little attention has been paid to the average individual, or guidance of the mass of children into functions of leadership in all the countless emergencies of life. In view of the democratic ideal which obtains, it is highly important that citizens be "not like dumb, driven cattle" at the beck and call of leaders, but capable of selecting their leaders intelligently; following their lead with appreciation, discrimination, and efficiency; and assuming on their own part the responsibilities for primary or secondary leadership as opportunities present themselves.

The only way in which skill in leadership may be attained is by practice of leadership in daily life situations. The child in whom the instinctive tendency of domination is very strong, possibly as accentuated by early home training, has hitherto had all of the training in aggressive leadership, while those who tended toward timidity, reticence and gentler habits were often altogether neglected, or were taught to be submissive. As more recently conceived, the educational program seeks to avoid the tendency to complete individual subjection to authority by instilling the ideal and practice of coöperation. Furthermore, the attempt is made to discover the special ability which each possesses, together with the extent of such ability, and give the child abundant opportunity to form attitudes and habits favorable to leadership in this line. In this way the leadership potentialities of every child are conserved and accentuated, rather than being allowed to die out through disuse.

Such an educational program calls for a socialized organization of the entire school. The teacher or parent often makes the mistake of dominating the child, giving him no chance to engage in free activity, or to express his own opinion. Being reared in subjection, he may never come to know in any real sense what it is to experience free initiative and leadership.

The child should be led to couple satisfaction with leadership, consequently should be guided to successful achievement, whether it be through heading a small group in play activities, writing a drama, or leading a group discussion. This means that he should be provided with responsibilities for tasks which are well within his ability and that his accomplishment, however imperfect it may be from an adult point of view, shall be properly appreciated by his fellow-children as well as by parent or teacher.

There is a great variance of opinion relative to the advisability of the child having experiences of failure. Frequent, or constant failure may stamp out of a child's, or even an adult's life any desire for leadership, or any attempts to assume responsibility. The consciousness of social failure is a peculiarly keen type of suffering. On the other hand, the experience of failure, in some degree, gives the individual a power of adjustment in similar situations which must inevitably occur. One cannot always be successful in such undertakings. The solution depends, both upon the nature of the individual and the type of guidance he receives. Some persons appear to be comparatively insensitive to mental suffering incident to failure; others, though sensitive, appear to be endowed with or trained into habits of obstinate persistence. Failure may provide a valuable challenge and incentive to try again. In a very real sense success may, in certain cases, be built upon failure. It is a form of trial and error learning. The analysis of the biographies of great leaders reveals the fact that almost all have had distressing experiences of failure before success was finally attained. Through such failures they learned their own abilities, and disabilities; discovered much about human nature; and perfected their methods of adaptation. Whether persistence comes as a result of experience, or whether it is a native trait which predetermines the attitude toward the experience is not certain. There is no doubt that the tendency to persistence may be facilitated or inhibited.

The individual should have experience in coöperative acceptance of the leadership of others, of "playing second-fiddle." Furthermore he should learn to compete for leadership and accept in a sportsmanlike way either the success or failure resulting from this competition. He should learn to adapt or even subjugate his personal interest and desire to the will and the welfare of others.

Leadership cannot be divorced from moral implications and character training. It is through leaders that ideals are extended or limited. This thought was voiced by one who said, "Let me have entire control of all of the newspapers of the country and I will change the complete system of moral concepts and practice of the people within ten years." It would be a foolish policy which would train leaders without giving them a definite body of worthy ideals and habits as a guide to their activities. Some of the most dominant leaders have been those who have left a trail of unhappiness behind them.

The age of the child must be a determining factor in all forms of leadership training. Interests must be considered at every stage as well as abilities. The early experiences must be direct and unanalytical. Not until adolescence is any form of analysis of self or others advisable. Insight into leadership relations in human society and into human nature itself will gradually develop as situations are met and solved. The adolescent stands in a critical position. Regardless of all past training he may acquire a mental set against assuming responsibility in leadership as a result of experiences which he meets during this period. The youth is given greater stability if he understands his own characteristics as a youth. He becomes more patient with himself and others and works out his leadership problems in a more satisfactory way.

Vocational choices must be determined to some extent by capacities for leadership. The choice, when made, in turn becomes an incentive to the assumption of responsibilities. As the individual matures and enters his life work in an active way, he should be made fully aware of all facts and problems involved. Fullest development and progress is assured only as he becomes an efficient leader of his fellows in certain aspects of his work. This in turn depends upon the training which he receives, involving the analysis of the appeals and interests of others and the best methods of motivating and securing the coöperation of his fellows.

Special care must be given to developing skill in delegating responsibility to others. The individual must learn to extend himself and his own powers through the ability of others. The peculiar mechanics of organization demanded in a certain setting must be known and anticipated, and either mastered personally or given into the care of others who can do so.

Educational leaders "control educational processes and direct the attitudes of a whole generation of little children, and hence of the leaders as well as the masses of succeeding generations." [1]

Questions and Exercises

1. A noted scientist stated that he learned something valuable every day from the janitor, the butcher and the newsboy. What does this imply regarding leadership?
2. Is a person ever exclusively the executive or intellectual type? Give illustrative cases representing these types.
3. Discuss the contrast between the politician and the statesman in terms of leadership.
4. Name as many types or groups of professional leaders as you can, such as missionaries and reformers, and note some of the errors commonly made by members of each of these groups.

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[1] E. S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (The Century Co., New York, 1924), p. 457.

5. Some of the rewards of leadership have been noted. What are some of the unpleasant results?
6. Tie up the thought of this chapter with the preceding one on appeals and motivations.
7. Someone has said, "Everyone has a mission of some kind which he feels is important." What is meant by this statement?
8. A preacher heartily blamed and criticized the members of his community for not following his lead. Evaluate his attitude.
9. It is a common saying that the guide should be like the signpost; pointing the way, but not going himself. Under what conditions, if ever, is this true or not true?

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CHAPTER XXII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIONS AND MORALS

If we traverse the world, it is possible to find cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without wealth, without coin, without schools and theatres; but a city without a temple, or that practiseth not worship, prayer, and the like, no one ever saw.

PLUTARCH

The true grandeur of humanity is in moral elevation, sustained, enlightened, and decorated by the intellect of man.

CHARLES SUMNER

DEFINITIONS.—Both religions and morals are social institutions. They have developed in society in a great variety of forms. The former are systems of interpretation of supernatural forces, and modes of behavior which are deemed appropriate in relation to these forces. The latter are systems of social conduct which are approved by society because they are considered contributory to the welfare of the group, and which are passed on from one generation to the next. Both have their inner aspects of knowledge and belief, as well as their outer aspects of behavior, whether of the individual or the group, and thus both come within the realm of psychology.

The systematic study of the doctrines in the field of religion is called *theology,* although this term is sometimes restricted to the presentation of certain concepts of the creative and controlling power of the universe. "Ethics is the science that deals with conduct, in so far as this is considered right or wrong, good or bad. A single term for conduct, so considered is 'moral conduct,' or the 'moral life.' Another way of stating the same thing is to say that Ethics aims to give a systematic account of our judgments about conduct, in so far as these estimate it from the standpoint of right or wrong." [1]

Religious beliefs tend to become crystallized in certain more or less fixed creeds, and religious conduct takes the form of rites and ceremonies which become traditional, whether written or unwritten. Morals are also established in codes of behavior, *mores* or customs which persist as ideals of behavior through succeeding generations.

THE GENETIC POINT OF VIEW.—For an adequate understanding of an individual or society, or of any particular personal trait or social institution, one must make a study of the origins, early stages, and succeeding growth. As one regards the present status of either religion or morals, he will tend to gain the impression of fixity, and conceive of either as more or less static, rather than progressive. Both are so complex and so intimately bound up with daily life that it is very difficult to analyze the factors that operate, or to take an impartial view of them. Prediction of the future and control of future development are possible only as one views the trends through a long period of time.

THE RELATION BETWEEN MORALS AND RELIGION.—By definition, there is no direct relation between religion and morals, but in real life the two have generally been intermingled until an association has been fixed between them in the minds of most individuals. It is difficult for many to conceive of a system of morals which has grown up and which operates independently of religion, or of a religion which is not essentially moral. In fact it is commonly assumed and stated by many that a moral life which is not based upon religion and religious experience is destined to fail and that it is of comparatively little worth. A religion which is not highly moralistic is also considered intolerable and a false religion.

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[1] John Dewey and James H. Tufts, *Ethics* (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1908), p. 1.

As a matter of fact, moral practices of a simple type antedate the birth of religion, and primitive races are even now reported in which the socio-moral concepts are unrelated to the religious life. There appears to be a widespread trend at the present time toward the emphasis upon moral life, with no implication that any formal religion is essential to this end. Many of the moral leaders, who have a keen appreciation of the values of right living, and who set a good example of moral conduct in daily life, are altogether inactive in religious affairs. Broadly speaking, such individuals may be said to have developed a practical religion of human brotherhood, but this carries the concept of religion beyond the ordinarily accepted definition.

Religion and morals have a binding element in the ethical concept of right and wrong. Certain religious beliefs, organizations, and practices come to be recognized as right, or good, while others are considered wrong, or evil. There is no other god but God. There are certain acceptable ways in which He may be approached. Any other way is considered, not only unorthodox, but even anti-social, for the displeasure of the God is likely to be visited on the entire group, rather than on the individual alone.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS SANCTIONS.—All moral concepts, ideals, and practices imply duties or obligations. The basic authority for such duties is the welfare of the group, at first expressed rather spontaneously, as a result of experiences, and later delegated to the supervisory control of special groups. No single individual cares to question the will of the great majority, and as a rule accepts their dictates without question. The individual must be completely subservient in primitive society.

Moral acts naturally receive religious sanction in a variety of ways. Ancestors who have passed on, become the objects of worship and in their new guise speak from beyond the tomb with a voice of commanding authority regarding the conduct of life. They come to possess immeasurably greater power for good or ill than the elders of the tribe. In the same way other invisible forces and nature-gods are conceived of as favoring certain types of behavior and being displeased by others. Moral obligations are greatly strengthened when they are backed by mysterious, unseen forces. The story of Moses bringing the decalogue from the very hands of God at the top of the holy mountain is an illustration of this power. Six of these ten commandments are purely ethical, but they could not have been so effective in control had they not been associated with and derived from religious authority.

ANIMISM AND NATURE WORSHIP.—One of the most primitive forms of religious concept is the imaginative endowment of material objects and mysterious forces with controlling power. The lotus plant became an object of religious regard and even worship, possibly because of its narcotic effect when eaten. The mysterious changes which took place in the development of the butterfly and beetle gave them a certain magic power. Stones and trees or groves of trees which are associated with striking events, either favorable or unfavorable to the individual or group, become objects or places of worship. Thunders and lightnings are regarded with awe, and mountains or hills around the tops of which these elements play come to be regarded as the homes of the gods, and thus take on religious significance. It is no mere coincidence that the high places became the sites of temples. The sun and moon as well as the stars not merely represent gods, but themselves are gods.

Nature worship in all of its phases and types, covering as it does innumerable objects of the environment, is possible only because the individual already has the tendency to identify himself with objects and to attribute to them the same life and powers which he possesses. Feelings, and powers of thought and speech may thus be assigned to any object, organic or inorganic. Such worship also arises from the desire to explain. Lacking any adequate rational explanation or background of experience, the first and simplest explanation is seized upon. The earliest beliefs were probably a confused mass of associated ideas long before any religious elements were recognized as such.

Ancestral Religion.—Eventually primitive man conceived the notion of a spirit in man which was his real personality. Death was not understood, but the spirit was thought to depart and take up his residence elsewhere. Dreams, images reflected in ponds, shadows, the invisible wind, all tended to make the concept of the spirits, soul, shade, or whatever term was applied, more real. The body was prepared for burial so that the spirit might reënter it at any time it desired to do so.

The elders of the tribe were thus given persistent life and power. Affection which naturally exists within the tribe is extended and nothing is done of which the ancestor could disapprove. His power is amplified, and through worship attempts are made to gain his approval of projects or to ward off punishment which he may give. The ancestor comes to be the upholder of the family or tribal traditions and mores.

Fetishism.—Spirits which thus wander about, separate from the body, must be given some abiding place. Almost any object, small or large, may serve this purpose. As a result such objects become the subjects of reverence and worship, not because of any inherent value they possess, but because they are the abodes of, or manifestations of spirits.

Animal worship is usually of this character. The spirits of ancestors are supposed to dwell in certain creatures, who are therefore considered sacred, so that their lives are held in-violate. Special honors may be heaped upon them, and obeisance made to them.

A Supreme Being.—Only gradually did mankind abstract the concept of a spiritual God, all-powerful and all-wise. At first it appears that one of the objects of worship became supreme over all others. It attained such importance as to become the central dominating power over all others, at least in tribe or nation, and all were compelled to give this one God their chief adoration, however much they might hold other more local or individual gods and objects in reverence. Thus a form of monotheism arose. There are many historic incidents of polytheism, where two or more gods of equal or almost equal power, but with variant sets of functions, are believed in. But eventually some form of monotheism prevailed.

It was a long step from the worship of a concrete object of nature, such as the sun, to the idea of a spiritual being, having no definite place of habitation. This may have been the outgrowth of man's natural tendency to generalize as wider experience is gained. It was probably fostered by the growing recognition of the inadequacy of the particular concrete form to contain or convey the concept of a deity of such power. Even though an abstract spiritual deity be conceived, there is always a certain proportion, probably a major portion, of the population which continues to invest Him with personal characteristics and even a personal form (*anthropomorphism*). Someone has said "Man made God in his own image." At a certain stage in the child's growth he can conceive of God in no other way, however much he may, as an adult, deal in the concept of Eternal Energy.

As a rule the Supreme Being is for long regarded as the God of the particular group, whether tribal, national, racial, or sectarian. Some have gone beyond this point and have considered their God a true universal deity who demands that all people of all nations and types shall do him homage. It is understood, however, that all of these must forsake their own god and accept the true God, and the true interpretation of Him by those delegated to reveal Him to the world. Conflicting and competing concepts of God have played a major function in warfare between peoples of all ages. Only in recent times has there been a tendency to adapt the concept of God to the needs of particular peoples and to emphasize the phases which are common to all types of religious devotion.

THE TABOO.—This term is taken over from the Polynesian language to describe a tendency of all primitive peoples to ban certain specific activities. Essentially the taboo declares, "touch not, taste not, handle not." One form of the taboo relates to the avoidance of those things which were owned by a deity, or of those places where the god dwelt. Certain ground was "holy" and must not be profaned. The "holy of holies" could not be entered save by those who had received special sanction. Certain sacred animals must not be eaten. Another class of taboos refers to prohibitions of behavior which may call down the displeasure of evil gods or malignant forces. It mattered not if one touched the object intentionally or by accident; the taboo immediately took effect. He who was taboo was exorcised from the group. He who touched one who was taboo, himself became taboo. This was purely a preservative function of society; a means of shunting off any possible disaster at the hands of the god or gods to the real culprit. It was natural that another type of taboo should develop, that of the more broadly moral taboo. Acts which were found by experience to be followed by unpleasantness or attended with danger came under the ban. Rules of eating, drinking, cleanliness, sex relations, ownership, war, and countless other matters formulated many different proscriptions which were for long the unwritten and traditional law of the people. Taboos were enforced by the rulers of the tribe, backed by the common will.

God and Devil.—In the polytheistic world of the ancients not all gods were conceived to be equally beneficent. In fact some were thought of as decidedly malignant. In some regions the sun was of this type, for it had the power to dry up the earth and wither the crops. Sacrifices had to be made which would insure the favor and good will of this mighty god. In the same way the god of the storm must be placated.

People of all ages have been faced with the necessity of explaining evil as well as good in the world. Death, disease, pain, madness, cruelty of man and nature, and all other dreaded and dreadful things in experience must have a source in an evil deity, even as all blessings were attributed to a good one. In some cases Satan or some equivalent, was merely the agent of the supreme being, with the duty of executing punishment on those whom He has tested and found unworthy. In other cases a dualism of gods was conceived, with God and the Devil in open conflict through the ages. The optimistic view holds that the forces of righteousness will some day win the victory. In the meantime individuals are moved by good or evil influences, depending upon which of the two great powers receives their loyalty. No partial loyalty to both is considered possible.

Rituals and Ceremonials.—In the administration of moral and religious functions certain set practices grow up and become habituated in the group as traditions. The life of primitive folk is largely characterized by ceremony. Seasonal ceremonials of a religious type are held at the time of the winter solstice with a view to persuading the sun to return, and at the time of the vernal equinox to welcome the spring. All religious worship becomes highly organized as to time and place as well as social participation. The initiation of young men and women into manhood and womanhood and active participation in adult life, is made up of ceremonies which are practically universal among primitive peoples. They serve well the purpose of impressing the young with a sense of the social solidarity of the tribe and their own personal responsibility in serving the welfare of the group. Taboos are ceremonialized, as are also the means of cleansing, whereby an erring member may again be readmitted as a member of the group. Special ceremonies develop in reference to events of birth, marriage, and death; to disease, war, or other crises. Hospitality becomes highly ceremonialized, as does its opposite, blood-revenge.

The ceremonial is characterized by ritualistic details of many kinds. Formally memorized words and sentences, magic phrases, elaborate systems of gesture, manipulation of symbolic objects, the playing of musical instruments, rhythmic chants, dancing, the wearing of certain costumes, fasting, feasting, prayer, and the mutilation of the body are some of the customs which are much used in rituals. Such practices are considered to have intrinsic value in themselves in effecting the end which is desired, and their association with the whole ceremonial is fixed, a definite law of procedure. Were one to change a ritual in even a small way, he would be recognized as disloyal to the group.

IMMORTALITY.—Persistence of the soul or spirit appears to have been the generally accepted view of earliest peoples. There was apparently no consideration of any other possibility. Ancestor worship referred to actual living personalities, not to memories of those who had once lived. If one did not live worthily it was assumed that at death he would be forced to take up his abode in a meaner habitation or lower order of animal, or be reincarnated in a lower social caste. Retribution after death was not a prominent characteristic of early belief, nor were the dead given any particular place of abode. Eventually imagination conjured such a place where the shades dwelled and carried on activities much as on earth.

It was not then a long step to the separation of good and evil spirits, and the creation of a judgment "according to the deeds done in the body." Many religions emphasize and describe in a great variety of ways these eternal abodes of the blessed and the damned. Paradise has always been the expression of a people's desires, the maximal accumulation of what they value as goods, while Hell is a place lacking in these goods as well as a place of actual torment. The faithful warrior of Islam looked forward to an honored place of rest upon a silken couch under beautiful fruit trees where he would be waited upon by many delightful houris or nymphs. There is a stern justice in the concept of early Christians, who, poor and persecuted, had a vivid picture of a Heaven made up of gold and silver and precious stones, in which they might enjoy the reign of their rejected Lord, while their enemies suffered in Hell.

Paradise is not always considered as ethereal. Some look forward to the actual reorganization of the earth so that it may serve as the home of the redeemed of all generations, a true Kingdom of God. The true believers again take on their personal bodies and participate as members of a perfect society in which righteousness and justice cover the earth. Others conceive of this Kingdom of God in much the same way, except that it is a stage in the natural evolution toward general social righteousness, and hence not coupled with immortality, save as influence and the race may be considered immortal.

There is no doubt that such concepts of eternal life have been remarkable incentives, and still are, to countless individuals. They tie up with the highest moral ideals of the person or the group. In general they are socially useful, although this cannot be admitted of such concepts as that of Islam, according to which the greatest rewards would be given those who killed the greatest number of those of opposing faiths.

There is a growing tendency to regard eternal rewards as possibilities rather than certainties, and to live for real values in this life rather than the life to come. Some are able to appreciate fully such a concept and to derive a maximum of happiness in contemplation of the good which will flow out from them into future generations as they fulfil the highest moral ideals. Others, with less power of abstraction, when they lose sight of a definite system of eternal rewards and punishment, tend to act in harmony with the slogan, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die." For the great majority of individuals, some adequate notion of immortality and judgment is required as an impetus to best social behavior, and will continue to be required until they achieve a certain power of abstraction, or attain a religious point of view which is based upon a real and sincere love of their fellow-men, and is characterized by a lively effort to work for the present and lasting good of humanity.

BELIEFS AND DOGMAS.—An individual belief, arrived at somewhat independently through experience, and subject to change as experiences enlarge one's range of interpretation, is quite a different matter from a socialized or institutionalized belief which comes to be established once for all time and for all members of the group. Moral and religious creeds of social and religious institutions are static and resistant to change. They come to be regarded as the last word and final law. The process of change is always painful when social forces at last demand some readjustment. The individual is not free, for he is bound to orthodoxy by his associates. At the best he is passive in his adherence to beliefs which are forced upon him and which he has had no share in discovering. He may even engage in a form of duplicity or hypocrisy, in which he holds to beliefs as an individual to which he would not give public acknowledgment because of fear of social displeasure and some form of anathema. In some ways it is fortunate that creeds are static, for they tend to stability in periods when chaos would result without them. They are valuable as flywheels, even as organized government is resistant to anarchy.

Changes in belief take place either by revolution or evolution; by sudden overthrow of accepted tenets under the influence of a great leader, or by a gradual displacement of old dogmas with new ones (or of old meanings of phrases with different meanings). Often there is no perceptible change throughout the life of one generation, but quite commonly the older generation is heard to lament the decadence in religion or morals or both in the new generation. It requires a great deal of optimism at times to believe that changes are in the path of progress. As a matter of fact mere change is no proof of progress. There have been abundant evidences of retrogression at certain periods in history. However, a movement in belief which is based on verified fact rather than mere superstition, which arises out of intelligent contemplation and sympathetic interest, and which calls for the highest type of coöperative effort for the common good, may be trusted as to its spirit, however much its form may be a radical departure.

Religious Groups.—Very early in national development the specialized religious groups began to take over the functions of worship and sacrifice, as well as the supervision of moral practices. The medicine man or witch doctor has at his command certain magic cures for personal or social ills. The seer, through his study of stars, or natural objects such as the entrails of birds, or through the use of the divining rod, predicts the future. He who supervises religious practices becomes an intermediary between the people and divinity, and himself becomes sacred or at least acquires some of the characteristics ordinarily ascribed to the god. He converses with the god directly or indirectly and transmits his decrees to the people. He also transmits to the god the pleas and desires of the populace. He is "inspired" to prophecy. He thus becomes very naturally the powerful leader of the people. In many cases the priestly groups are the real rulers. Such a government is called a *theocracy*.

Sectarian organizations naturally arose, each with its own set of rituals, creeds, and administration, and each representing a background of long development. Every new religion that has developed, such as Christianity, reveals traces of antecedent faiths. The new religious organization in turn subdivides into numerous sectarian groups as time goes on, and these are very persistent, even after the cause that gave them birth has long since disappeared. Movements to unify these groups are usually attended with a great deal of discouragement, and call for infinite patience. The problem is complex indeed. That a solution would be desirable from the point of view of social economy, is without question. That it can be effected in any complete way is dubious. It appears that a great diversity of religious expression is inevitable in the light of the facts of individual differences. In fact, complete uniformity would be deadening.

Motives Underlying Religious and Moral Development.—There is no doubt that fear has always been a prominent motive in religious and moral growth. Mysterious forces held the threat of constant danger which could be obviated only through certain types of behavior in relation to one's fellows as well as one's accepted divinity. Fear of social opinion and the taboo must have had a tremendous weight. As the individual became more fully conscious of his personal responsibility for the welfare of the group, he acquired a sense of sympathy and good will which gave a positive aspect to his conduct. Anger or resentment became a force in individual and social life. In such undertakings as blood-feuds this resentment became a binding agent. Affection for the members of one's family, and loyalty to the tribe were potent forces.

Motives which require an advanced type of intelligent reflection could not become active forces until a higher type of individuality and of general civilization developed. Thus duty in morals and the love of divinity, as positive attitudes, could not become prominent until the individual understood somewhat adequately the forces in his world and his true relationship to them as a coöperating unit.

THE MORAL LAW.—Some believe in a basic and inherent tendency of each individual to know intuitively the moral law of the world, a law which is as intrinsic in the universe as any of the natural laws such as gravitation. The study of anthropology and psychology gives no basis for this belief. Moral attitudes are social habits born of experience. They are acquired by the younger generation and made vivid as traditions learned from earliest years. Adults do not know clearly where they received their moral attitudes nor consciousness, consequently their prominence has a significance which is mysterious.

If there were a moral law, as such, the best moral ideals and practices throughout the ages would have been consistently in agreement. It is well known that the act which is considered moral in one age is recognized as highly immoral in another. A time honored law, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," gives way before a new concept, "Love your enemies." There is much of trial and error learning in moral development. As scientific knowledge increases, a more precise concept of evil conduct is being formed. Sin is gradually losing its purely mystical character, and is becoming practically recognized as the violation of the laws of nature. One may be thoroughly acquainted with religious concepts, both in theory and practice, yet be highly immoral in the sense that he constantly violates the laws of health. To be sure he may not do so intentionally, but the physical law operates regardless of his attitude. The ignorance may be excused, even wrong attitudes may be righted, but the laws of nature cannot be nullified. Here is found a sufficient sanction for moral conduct which must be forcibly impressed upon the coming generations.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Show in what ways Jesus was deemed immoral and irreligious by many of his contemporaries.
2. Someone has said, "Revolution is considered moral and spiritual progress if it succeeds; if it fails it is rankest treason." Discuss this statement.
3. Must children follow the history of the race in their own religious and moral development? Illustrate.
4. Some individuals and races are spoken of as non-moral. What is meant by this term?
5. Does it lessen the validity of the Ten Commandments to recognize that they were the outgrowth of experiences of society?
6. Examine your own religious and moral development and note what part fear has played in the process.
7. Become acquainted with Drummond's book *Natural Law in the Spiritual World,* and note and explain the effort which the author makes.
8. Is there much superstition in the world to-day? Describe some current beliefs which may be so classified. What is voodooism?
9. Is the taboo still exercised in some form in civilized society? Explain.
10. The story is told of an elderly woman who explained why she bowed her head every time the name of Satan was mentioned by her pastor in church, by saying, "It doesn't cost anything to be polite, and you never can tell what may happen." Explain her attitude.

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PART III

APPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS WORK

Not alone to know, but to act according to thy knowledge, is thy destination, proclaims the voice of thy inmost soul. Not for indolent contemplation and study of thyself, nor for brooding over emotions of piety—no, for action was existence given thee; thy actions, and thy actions alone, determine thy worth.

FICHTE

CHAPTER XXIII

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

True religion carries health and strength into the soul. It . . . withdraws from men no faculty; ties up no power; extinguishes no instinct; imprisons no part of the mind, but only regulates and directs. Religion is only another word for the right use of a man's whole self . . . ; it makes them love whatever is good and abhor whatever is bad; it inspires reverence, obedience, and love toward God; it inculcates justice, mercy, and benevolence toward men; it endows us with courage, with patience, with contentment.

HENRY WARD BEECHER

Our religion is one that dares to be understood; that offers itself to the search of the inquisitive, and to the inspection of the severest and most awakened reason. For being secure of her substantial truth and purity, she knows that for her to be seen and looked into is to be embraced and admired, as there needs no greater argument for men to love the light than to see it.

SAMUEL JOHNSON

POSSIBILITY OF SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS.—Religious experiences are thought by some to be so supernatural and mystic as to make any adequate analysis impossible, and in fact inadvisable. Any attempt to investigate what goes on in "the holy of holies of men's souls" they regard as presumptuous and certainly fraught with dangerous consequences. They resent any effort to reduce such experiences to terms of natural law, or to treat of them as forms of ordinary mental processes. Others, seeking to establish the validity of religious experiences, and to make a complete justification of them on a scientific basis, are anxious to discover all the facts of such experiences and to show them as phenomena controlled by natural law. In this spirit Henry Drummond wrote his epoch-making work, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." He says in his Preface, "The real problem I have set myself may be stated in a sentence. Is there not reason to believe that many of the Laws of the Spiritual World, hitherto regarded as occupying an entirely separate province, are simply the Laws of the Natural World? . . . In a word is the Supernatural natural or unnatural?" Some investigators prefer to eliminate the use of the term "Spiritual World," because it has developed connotations of the supernatural, and to use the customary scientific formulæ in the analysis of the whole range of religious phenomena.

The psychologist faces a definite limitation when he undertakes to study this problem. He is restricted to a study of man's reactions as a behaving organism. As a scientist he can have nothing whatever to say regarding the nature of Divinity or bring into question the matter of a guiding Providence. Keeping within his bounds, he can make a valuable and thorough analysis of man's religious nature and responses. An individual, acting under the influence of religious impulses, is as truly a subject of study as when he is making an attempt to learn a new skill.

THE VALUE OF SUCH AN ANALYSIS.—At first thought one may seriously question the advisability of making an analysis of the religious life. One may analyze any of the finer emotional experiences out of existence. Spontaneous love will not thrive in an atmosphere of critical examination. Furthermore there is an unfortunate tendency to hold in light respect these things which are made common. Although natural law and the processes of nature are filled with mystery and wonder, there is a prevailing concept that they are ordinary matters, and the mind of man thirsts for that which is extraordinary and dramatically related to divine sources. Doubtless the majority of mankind are convinced that divine power has been ruled out from any phenomena, the processes of which are explained.

Even though it be inadvisable that all mankind should be instructed as to the mental processes that characterize the religious life, those who undertake to guide and control their fellows in this field should be fully aware of the involved facts. Only in this way can a full and sympathetic understanding of the individual be gained, and adequate guidance be made in the light of individual needs. Any concept which makes for a wholesome development of religion and religious experience and which brings a greater spirit of tolerance is a lead to progress.

THE RELIGION OF CHILDHOOD.—Some have placed an emphasis upon the unregenerate nature of childhood, and have found in the selfishness, fits of anger, and the falsehoods of this period abundant symptoms of the "original sin" which must characterize one whose ancestry traces back to the "fall of man" from close kinship with God. He is in his turn a recipient of "the curse," and primarily in need of redemption. A logical outcome of this view led to the belief in "infant damnation" for those who died before the age of accountability. Infant baptism, in its earlier forms was practised as a means of removing the curse and insuring the child an immortal life in case of death. Such baptism is sometimes regarded as redemptive in and of itself. Others regard it as merely temporarily redemptive until the child reaches the age of accountability, when he must himself seek and find salvation on his own responsibility if he is to be redeemed from sin. There is a growing tendency to regard the ceremony of child baptism as an act of consecration by the parents, who thus signify their own responsibility to bring up the child in such a way as to predispose him toward the religious life.

In distinct contrast with this view is the concept that the small child is innocent and in close contact with the divine source. In the words of Wordsworth, "Heaven lies about us in our infancy." Charles Monroe Dickinson put the same sentiment into his remarkably sympathetic poem, "The Children," in which the following stanza occurs:

> "They are idols of hearts and of households,
> They are angels of God in disguise;
> His sunlight still sleeps in their tresses,
> His glory still shines in their eyes.
> Those truants from home and from heaven
> They have made me more manly and mild;
> And I know now how Jesus could liken
> The Kingdom of God to a child."

According to this view, not only is the child in no need of redemption; he is a worthy model in spirit and conduct for adults to follow. "Except ye become as little children, ye shall in nowise enter the kingdom of heaven." Much is made of the fact that the child is naturally curious about matters of religion, such as creation and companionship of God, and that he has a confiding faith in divine control. It is felt to be the great tragedy of life that the child should ever drift away from his earlier intimacy with God and his natural tendency toward religious attitudes.

Psychological analysis reveals the child as neither religious nor irreligious by nature and only made so by conditioning factors of his environment. He has unmeasured potentialities and capacities which may be directed in either one way or the other. He is curious about God and other religious matters because he has learned of them, and his natural curiosity about all things becomes evident here. His faith is uncritical only to the extent that his whole life is accepted without question of protest or analysis such as more mature experience will yield. It is through the environmental social contacts that the family and racial traditions are made real to him, and the consciousness of sin and estrangement from God develop. It is also through the environmental influences in the home or church relationships that the child is led to make decisions on religious matters, and to become active in religious belief and participation.

WHAT CONSTITUTES RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE?—The most characteristic and universal element of religious experience is belief.[1] Belief may refer to the simple acceptance of and faith in the existence of God, or may be concerned with the many details of traditional faith, ceremony, ritual, and creed. It may represent a blind and unquestioning faith, with little of deliberate thought, or it may be a highly conscious, analytical, and logical declaration of confidence. True belief is an active experience calling for volitional activity and registering a definite effect upon the behavior or tendencies to behavior in ways that are in harmony with it. Much that passes for belief is a mere formal or verbal acceptance with no accompanying influence on basic conduct.

A second element of religious experience is that of unity with God. In one way or another the believer comes into active harmonious relations with the divine power as he conceives of it. He submits his personal will and desires to the will of God as he knows it or as it is "revealed" to him. He thinks on those things which are holy and divine, and communes with the Infinite in prayer or in the more informal and spontaneous musings and silent periods of daily life. He seeks favors from Providence and has a sublime confidence in his divine guide. He carries his personal difficulties and discouragements and troubles to the "throne of grace," and makes full confession of his wrongdoings. In one way or another he bows himself in adoration and worship of the source of all of his benefits. The truly religious person enjoys a rich if not altogether unique mental experience which may be summarized briefly in terms of joy, peace, sense of companionship, forgiveness, confidence, strength, purity, and "mystic" unity with divine power.

A third characteristic of the religious life is a system of social conduct which is deemed in harmony with the divine nature and will. One's relations with his fellows must be pure, and his behavior and even his intent or tendencies free from evil, if he is to maintain companionship with and derive benefits from God. He puts aside the temptations to engage in carnal pleasures and maintains an air of detachment from many activities in which the non-religious man engages. He is sympathetic with humanity in its needs, and gives freely of his service and funds to prevent and relieve distress. He conceives of spiritual hunger as man's greatest need and undertakes to tell others the "good news" of his own redemption and to lead them to participate fully in the same experience.

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[1] It is customary to make a distinction between belief and faith; the former being used to refer to objects and experiences which can be definitely apprehended and verified; whereas faith is "the essence of things hoped for, the substance of things unseen."

Such a picture of a genuine religious life is extraordinarily appealing and of tremendous significance. It is not merely an imagined and idealized experience, but one which is duplicated in whole or in part in thousands of lives. It is especially dramatic when it comes to an individual after years of turbulence, enmity, evil companionship, or debauchery. In fact it is such instances that are selected and emphasized most often, with a consequent neglect of the tonic effect of religion upon mankind as a whole.

VARIED TYPES OF EXPERIENCE.—There is a common failure to recognize the law of individual differences as it applies to the religious life. He who enjoys a religious experience of a certain type is convinced that this is the only kind of experience possible. Norms come to be established by those of the same type and little understanding or toleration is had of those of other types. The highly emotional man is destined to have a highly emotionalized experience in contrast with another who is more phlegmatic or who has developed a system of logical controls over emotional expression. For some a sudden transformation is inevitable and natural, while others must come to their experience by a process of gradual growth. Some who have the power of vivid imagination read into their experience certain mystical elements which are quite foreign to those of a more practical and unromantic turn of mind. Some are spontaneously evangelistic, while others find it difficult if not impossible to undertake the task of personal or group persuasion, except through the casual influence of good example.

Motives Underlying the Religious Life.—Contrary to a general impression, any one of a number of motives may dominate in leading a person to religious experiences, even as they may lead him in opposite ways. Characteristic of all motives leading to a genuine religious life is a sense of need which is not relieved by the ordinary agencies that are readily obtainable. Thus one who is suffering from some malady which has not yielded to treatment may seek a divine cure, complying with whatever conditions may be necessary to this end. One who is lonely, a failure, in distress, or impoverished goes to his God in search of companionship and comfort. Desires for eternal life, or its complement, the fear of damnation, have always been and still are strong motives for the acceptance of religious belief and attitudes.

The desire to rid oneself of sin and its consequences is recognized as one of the most common motives, and possibly the strongest of all. One who has indulged in what he considers sin may at length have a complete revulsion against the evil habits which bind him. His yearning for freedom and for a clear conscience directs him to find a new will and power in religion. As a rule the desire to rid oneself of sin is only a means to some ultimate end, whether it be health, comfort, consolation, or eternal life.

Whatever may be the motive which activates such seekers after the benefits of religion, the consequent experiences may properly be called "salvation." He who has this experience is indeed saved, often from intolerable conditions, and is given new hope and a new lease on life. Religious leaders have commonly noted the fact that people do not seek the religious life as frequently during periods of contentment and prosperity as they do when some great crisis arrives in their lives.

Other types of motives might be mentioned, especially that of social imitation. Many become religious for no other reason than the desire to do as their friends and family or others have done. Many individuals do not seek "salvation," for they have grown up from early childhood with their attitudes and habits fixed toward religion. Without doubt this is the most desirable, if not the most dramatic procedure. There is always the risk, however, that such persons may adopt a purely formal attitude, with little appreciation of their own position, and with little if any sense of the dynamic power which a true religious experience provides. If this is to be avoided, genuine need must be felt and religious decisions must be made in the light of this personal need. Youth is preëminently the period when decisions relative to religious life are made. The motives are greatly mixed and varied, so that it is difficult to trace them in any individual. The great emotional stress and general heightening of the emotional life during the adolescent period is probably responsible for this tendency. Almost any emotional appeal will have its effect, in one way or the other. The youth also may enter a life of crime, "sow his wild oats," and become the suicide, the atheist, or the anarchist.

One must not overlook the very positive group who ally themselves with religion and seek divine blessing so that they may serve their fellowmen more sympathetically and more perfectly. In such service they find their supreme joy and satisfaction. They regard their responsibility as twofold: first, to refrain from any act which will be harmful to any man; and second, to give what help they may in meeting human need. Their motives are social. They may give thought to their personal salvation beyond the tomb, but are very much more concerned with building a Kingdom of God upon earth.

Conversion.—In any discussion of religious experience, one must take note of conversion. It is commonly regarded, not merely as the "turning about" from ways of evil to ways of holiness, but also the "spiritual" change which takes place in the person himself. For purposes of analysis the term "mental" or "psychological" may be substituted for "spiritual." The word "conversion" is used very loosely. Constantine may have prided himself on the conversions which he had made when he drove an army through the river while he pronounced the ritual of the baptismal ceremony. A modern church reports several hundred conversions during the year, meaning that there have been that many additions to the church. A revivalist announces a thousand converts and means by this statement, not merely that one thousand people have made decisions to live a religious life, but that they been suddenly transformed, and have "passed from darkness into light."

Some do not at all understand what is meant by this interpretation, because they have never had any religious experience which approaches the descriptions of it. Religious people often insist that this experience is the *sine qua non* of religious life, and that no genuine religious life can be had without it, but it appears that many are so constitutionally organized that they achieve their goals in the satisfaction of needs without any sudden revolution. There is a marked tendency of some to belittle and discredit the experience as a sort of emotional orgy, with little consequent good and much of bad. There is no doubt of the reality of conversion, nor of its beneficent effects in many cases. There are many who are so organically disposed that such an experience is essential, or at least natural, in order that their habits and attitudes may be changed.

This experience has certain well-defined stages, easily understood when one knows how the mind works. First, there is the marked sense of need. Next, there is an active search for divine help, and faith that help will be received. Humility and submission are strong emotionalized attitudes which render the seeker very passive. This usually takes the form of repentance where a sense of sin is uppermost. The individual feels powerless to do anything for himself and is wholly dependent upon divine aid. When these attitudes of humility and faith obtain in an adequate degree, the seeker, it may be after a period of prolonged struggle, experiences "the new birth." He has a new-found sense of joy and peace, a conviction of forgiveness, and a release of inhibitions. He is flooded with new strength and power, and even the sensibilities are heightened. The most remarkable change takes place in attitudes and habits. Some things he once loved he now hates; and others that he once hated he now loves. The drunkard finds the power of his drink-habit now mysteriously broken, and he faces the world as one who has been freed and cleansed, with new hope for the future. The power of the experience will vary in intensity, according to the strength of the emotions involved.

It is because of its dramatic character and intense contrasts that man comes to look upon conversion and "new birth" as due to the special interposition of supernatural power. It is not to be wondered at that this is so. Let the same changes take place by a process of natural growth and habit formation, as often happens, with but little emotional stress at any one moment, and they cease to appear mysterious or unusual.

Outside of the field of religion similar mental experiences are often enjoyed, at least in degree. One may find his mind purged and his nature greatly changed by the agonizing experience of watching and waiting at the bedside of a loved one threatened by death. A mother experiences a great joy and peace when she finds that her boy, whom she has come to doubt, is worthy of her fullest trust. The invalid, for long years hoplessly ill, then suddenly finding a cure, or the man who has failed, having new opportunities which he meets successfully, find a new sense of strength and freedom much as the innocent one who is condemned to death experiences when granted his freedom. He who listens to beautiful music or who is in the midst of beauties of art or Nature may have strange stirrings of the heart and changes of mood which he is at a loss to understand. Many Nature lovers have reported mystic experiences when they are overwhelmed by the beauty and wonders about them. They lose the sense of time and space and have a vast sense of unity with Nature. For the time being they let go of their own individuality and become identified with the universe. It is seldom if ever that such varied experiences as are above noted are merged in one as is often the case in the genuine religious conversion, or exaltation.

EMOTION AND THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.—The religious life is rooted deeply in the emotions, acting both in relation to the individual and social groups. The basic urges are so personal and so thoroughly permeative, and the outcomes so satisfying, that all things connected with the religious experience come to be regarded as supremely good. Thus the traditional beliefs, the creeds, the rituals, and even the attitudes and processes of salvation come to be considered sacrosanct and to be defended with the utmost fervor. Other dogmas and forms are deemed spurious. Intolerance is the natural outcome of such fixed associations. Religious warfare, local or general in type, is largely a matter of emotional stress, with little of logical analysis, except in the form of rationalization.

The fanatic is by no means exclusively found in religious circles. He is found in politics, education, music, art, or in any field where emotional expression may have a free rein. The emotional accompaniments of religion are so peculiarly complex and dominant as to cause many of those with marked tendency to emotional unbalance to go to extremes. Fanaticism is a form of mania which may border on or become a definite condition of insanity. An individual may fix his attention upon a certain aspect of religious associations and become obsessed by it, until it occupies the entire horizon of his emotions and behavior.

Many of the separations between religious groups, even within the same major organization may be explained in terms of the varying emotional temperaments of the members of these groups. He who is strongly emotional by nature or training cannot be satisfied with mere logical expositions or calm presentations of doctrine. His emotions must be fed. He may even come to doubt the sincerity of those who are thus controlled. On the other hand, those who are less emotional and impulsive find themselves not at all in harmony with the attitudes of their more ebullient fellows, however much they may appreciate their sincerity. Those who are alike naturally tend to gravitate to each other in consistent groups, with the result that neighboring congregations, even within the same faith, will be found conducting services of greatly variant types.

A common accusation against emotionalized religion is made by showing that there is a tendency for those who are strongly moved toward religion to suffer "let downs" and reversals of mood. It is felt that the one who is emotional is undependable; that he may be a saint one day and a sinner the next day. While this is a true characterization of certain individuals under certain conditions, it obtains not merely in religion but in all life activities. There are many who find it possible to maintain a fairly even state of emotional tonus, others naturally fluctuate and find it very difficult to reach a stage of stability and independence. These who are predisposed toward emotional behavior require adequate expression of this type. If they do not find it in the field of religion they will find it elsewhere. It is no solution of the problem to ignore their need. Wise leadership must meet the need and provide some adequate supervision and guidance until right habits and attitudes are firmly established. Revivalism has often erred in its concern with making converts to the exclusion of a careful follow-up of the converts. There will always be the need for revivals in some form. They should be conducted in a more careful, scientific manner, with a proper use of emotionalized appeals, but he who would eliminate them altogether is failing to take into account a very large portion of mankind as it actually behaves.

SUGGESTION AND HYPNOTISM.—There is no doubt that suggestion plays a major part in all religious experiences. The great cathedral, with its subdued light, stained glass windows, harmonious decorations, soft music, and gleaming altars, carries such a powerful suggestion of worship and heavenly communion that the practical man of affairs finds his attitude softened to one of tenderness and sympathy. Even the humblest house of worship at the country crossroads becomes a symbol of sacred things. From a practical psychological point of view it is a mistake to use the one room for both worship and ordinary social activities, for the power of suggestion is thereby broken down. There are some who have come to regard all human relations as sacred. For them the sense of worship may not be affected thereby, but as yet these exist in a small minority. Space will not permit an analysis of the suggestive elements contained in such things as the sacred scriptures, the ceremonies and rites, the sermons and prayers, the early teachings in the home, the contacts with those who live and enjoy religious lives, and many other potent factors.

The religious experience is especially unique in its evidence of the power of auto-suggestion. He who seeks with faith finds his satisfaction. The suggestion may be strengthened by others, but in the end the changes which follow take place within the individual as a natural consequent of the attitudes which he has assumed. It matters not whether such changes take place comparatively suddenly or through a long period of time, the experiences are otherwise essentially identical and suggestion is the prime factor.

Some would claim that conversion is a phenomenon of hypnotism or auto-hypnotism, as distinguished from ordinary suggestion. Whether the state is fully hypnotic or only partially so is not clear. Its climactic character is indicative of this condition. That it bears a very close relation to hypnotism cannot be doubted in view of the facts of the religious trance to which certain suggestive ones are subject, and which is purely hypnotic. Some revivalists doubtless exert an hypnotic influence over their audiences, aided indeed by the whole setting and the state of readiness of the hearers.

Suggestion operates in much the same way in instances of faith healing, often producing results which are identical with those secured by the psychotherapist. Many religious or semi-religious cults have developed which have taken advantage of the facts of auto-suggestion, in organizing their tenets and procedures. Some of these have health as their goal, others hold success in life as the end, and others purity of thought and act, but all operate on the same basic plan. The individual must desire earnestly, must have faith in the outcome, and must constantly suggest to himself that improvement is actually taking place.

In many cases the suggestion operates so effectively as to produce delusions. The health-seeker is "healed" of cancer and continues to refuse any recognition of the fact that the disease is still working havoc in his body up to the day on which it causes his death. One who has had a religious experience may henceforth throughout his life conceive of himself as a member of the Kingdom of God, notwithstanding the fact that he repeatedly practices minor abominable cruelties toward his fellow-men. Some come to live in a dream world of the spiritual and are not even aware of the actual life which goes on about them.

HOLINESS.—The logical end of the religious life is the attainment of a state of holiness in harmony with the ideal of God which is held. Some believe this state is attained in the original act of conversion. Others believe that there must be a special later experience of "sanctification." Still others assert that it is achieved through a long process of growth, either while mixing in society or while living as a recluse. Many others refuse to recognize the possibility of such a state or any process by which it might be attained. Psychological analysis does not tend to discredit the reality of such an experience as a process of conditioning, but indicates that it may occur by a great variety of procedures. The individual is not thereby in some mysterious way made perfect so that no error may be made. He merely comes to have a fixed attitude such that it is inconceivable that any form of temptation will cause him voluntarily to do that which he knows to be evil. He is wholly consecrated to the good life as he conceives it, with no desire for its opposite. A parallel experience may be pointed out in the field of vocational activity. One may work at a task through a sense of duty, but his desires may really turn toward other activities. At length his attitudes may change, either suddenly or gradually, so that he now enjoys the task. He finds himself consecrated to it, and his greatest delight now is to perform the work in the best way possible. It would be fortunate indeed if all religious folk could reach this stage of practical living.

PRAYER.—All believers of all faiths throughout the world practice some form of prayer as an attempt to establish communion with God. It may be highly formalized or spontaneous, silent or oral, but whatever its form it presupposes the existence of a Higher Power, or a Personal God, who can hear and answer the petition. In a wider sense even the atheist may pray, if prayer be simply defined as "the soul's sincere desire, uttered or unexpressed." There is less and less of a tendency to ask or expect God to set aside the laws of Nature for the sake of personal benefits of a providential character, and a growing tendency to seek for guidance and inner strength. The value of prayer as a medium of suggestion and auto-suggestion is recognized, as well as its stimulating effect and general hygienic influence upon attitudes and the whole affective life. Periods of silent meditation and prayer in the secrecy of one's own room afford a means of relaxation and comfort for which there is no adequate substitute. Public prayer, when sincerely expressed, has a unifying and mellowing influence upon the members of a group which makes it a unique and essential factor.

The Religious Life of the Future.—Some are worried because of an apparent decadence of religious life and a general loss of interest in matters of religion. They foresee a return to paganism on an intellectual level. They regard science as a potent destroyer of personal faith. Such worries are needless. Religious attitudes appear to dominate mankind, not steadily, but in cycles. For one who lives close to the present, it is difficult to see the trends. The years immediately past have been a period of turmoil from a religious point of view. Old authorities have been discarded and new ones have been growing. Many old forms and institutions have lost their potency. The problem now is to make such adaptations and to set up such controls that the living spirit of religion may have an adequate means of expression in harmony with the life and thought of the modern era.

Even now there are signs of a new revival in religion. It is becoming a matter of interest in schools and colleges. Scientists are recognizing anew the wonderful and baffling mystery of creation and creative power, and finding a new sense of worship arising. There is a growing tendency to regard all human relationships as essentially sacred and to extend the religious life to all activities which involve a sincere effort to do the right. Religious leadership of the future will make a more careful study of individual needs and seek in a more systematic way to meet these needs. Superstitious concepts will become less and less associated with the religious life, without causing a loss of a sense of the reality and value of religious experiences. Emotional urges and tendencies will be met but will be so guided and directed that mental health uniformly will result from religious experiences. Children will be guided to religious attitudes and habits from earliest years so that they will regard religion as a natural part of life, rather than something which may be added to life as an afterthought. Religion will more and more come to be interpreted in terms of social obligation and service rather than merely an emotional experience of a personal nature, without any diminution in the sense of joy, peace, and power of any individual who thus engages his effort.

Questions and Exercises

1. Show the need for permanent motives as supplements or substitutes for the temporary motives in undertaking religious life.
2. Why is it that some religions emphasize the religious experiences of conversion or holiness while others do not?
3. Can appreciation of beauty be introduced as an adequate substitute for religious experience, as has been proposed?
4. Cite instances of religious fanaticism which have come to your attention. How can you distinguish between the true fanatic and the man who is merely enthusiastic?
5. What is the significance of such a phenomenon as the period of silent prayer for the safety of Charles Lindbergh on his flight to Europe, which occurred at a great prize fight when

thousands of spectators arose and bowed their bared heads?

6. Show how a knowledge of psychology should lead to a great spirit of toleration in religion.
7. Point out some ways in which religious leadership may be accused of inefficiency, and indicate ways in which such conditions may be remedied.
8. Why is it important that the new convert be given responsibility for accomplishing some particular task? Indicate some tasks which would be appropriate.
9. In a prosperous era such as is now being enjoyed in the United States what are the prominent motives for beginning the religious life?

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Chapter XXIV

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHARACTER FORMATION

Talents are best nurtured in solitude; character is best formed in the stormy billows of the world.

Goethe

You cannot dream yourself into a character; you must hammer and forge one for yourself.

J. A. Froude

The Recognition of the Problem.—The present period is marked especially by two converging lines of development: the discovery and use of scientific methods in the study of personality and personality growth; and the practical concern of educators, psychologists, and business men in the training of character. This interest in the training of character has been augmented, if not initiated, by moral conditions since the World War. Crime and the general lowering of moral conduct have been reported from many centers of the civilized world. An analysis of the situation reveals that the typical criminal is much younger than was formerly the case. In the United States it is found that the average criminal is in his early twenties, with the majority in the adolescent period.

Attention has also been forced upon the problem of frequent and repeated infractions of law. Many of these infractions are of a petty type, but together they amount to a monstrous total, and indicate a prevailing tendency to hold the legal requirements of society in light regard. Furthermore, many of the traditionally accepted and established moral codes have broken down to such an extent as to cause consternation and fears for the future progress of society.

There has been a growing conviction that the agencies which have been depended upon to provide the moral training and development of character in the younger generation have failed markedly to meet their responsibility, and that these agencies are helpless in the face of the present critical need. It must be admitted that such efforts as have been made in character education have been to a great extent matters of blind trial and error, and that for the most part it has been left to the ordinary processes of chance development.

CAUSES OF THE PRESENT CRISIS.—The science of social forces has not progressed far enough to unravel all of the influences which have been at work to bring this problem into the foreground. However, a few of the more striking developments are clear. Unwelcome as it may be to many, it appears to be a natural stage in progress, and as such it must be received. Attention will be centered upon the problem as never before, and there will doubtless be a more intelligent understanding of the forces at work and a more systematic attempt to control them.

The chief agency in character development has been the home, where intimate relationships and the responsibility of parents have played an important part. It is probable that the home will continue to be the prime factor, as indeed it should. In recent years there have been the significant changes in home life which must be taken into account. Hotels and apartments have been an inadequate substitute for the old-fashioned home. The family has lost its solidarity to a great extent. Women are seeking economic equality and pursuing vocations, sometimes to the neglect of their children. Fathers are spending less time, as the demands of business increase, in getting acquainted with their families. Divorces are increasing in number and also in proportion to marriages. Recent studies have seemed to indicate that the broken home is a prominent factor in producing crime among children, although the criminal child may himself be a product of the same forces which produce the broken home. Influences such as the motion picture and social or educational activities have come into competition with the home, and have drawn children from home interests to a greater extent than ever before. Children become relatively independent of the parents and of each other at an early age. It must be admitted also that the active religious atmosphere of the home which was once prevalent in such phases as the "family altar" and religious instruction has greatly decreased.

Of little less significance have been certain other changes in various aspects of community life. The individual who lives in a small community where he takes an active part in social and civic affairs and where his every act is known to the people of the community is stimulated to develop a sense of social responsibility. Such stimulation is largely lacking to the dweller in the large city. A sense of freedom from controls may lead one to indulge in many types of anti-social and immoral activities as leads to actual crime. Social influences are more permeating, so that the individual is exposed to evil influences at an earlier age and to a greater extent.

Education has made an amazing progress in the present century. More children are learning more about their world than ever before. One may issue the theoretical dogma that "knowledge is virtue," but in real life this is not the case, unless one receives a certain thoroughness of knowledge. It is still true that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." In some instances the child attains an air of wise superiority to parents and advisers. Most adolescents come to realize that morals are constantly changing from generation to generation, and naturally infer that no "moral law" is binding. They do not see the natural laws or social laws that are in the background. Some have adopted mechanistic concepts of life as a result of their partial studies in the fields of natural and social science. In short, much has been done in the way of imparting knowledge, with little or no consideration of right attitudes.

The church does not exert the influence that it formerly held, either as a community center, or as a medium of contact of the clergy with the home. The supernatural sanctions which were once brought to bear on moral living have to a great extent, lost their force and no new sanctions have been used consistently or effectively. Through the competitive fear of proselyting in the public schools, the churches have forced the schools to put aside any direct religious instruction whatever, with the result that religion has come to be regarded as a superficial, rather than an essential part of life; in no sense as vital as the "three R's" and other fundamentals. Morals had been so intimately associated with religion, it was natural that moral considerations should suffer the same fate as religion and be largely eliminated from the public school. The churches, through their internecine strife, have indeed "killed the goose that laid the golden egg," and have deprived a large proportion of the present generation of a rich background of moral and religious concepts. Furthermore, religious leaders have failed to take advantage of many great social agencies such as the newspaper, theatre, and the motion picture to establish social control, with the result that these have often fallen into the hands of those with low moral ideals, and have often proved a menace to the moral welfare of society. Recently the church has awakened to its opportunity in relation to radio broadcasting, and in this field bids fair to redeem in part its neglect of the past.

The changes in industry have been far-reaching. It was possible to develop high ethical standards of artisanship and of industrial responsibility under the old regime where the craftsman came into direct contact with the user of his product. In contrast, the modern worker is often greatly impoverished. He becomes a mere cog in the great machine of industry. This condition remains even in those industries which have the highest ethical considerations for employees. The amelioration of the lot of the worker is steadily progressing in many ways. The increase of wages and the granting of more leisure time, valuable as they are in themselves, offer no solution of the moral problem, for both money and time may be spent to a greater degree than ever in immoral pursuits. Industry is coming more and more to recognize its responsibility for building moral character in its employees, through personnel guidance, provision of good social clubs, and establishment of community centers.

The great increase in prosperity of the average man has introduced many factors which have fostered immoral conditions. The comment regarding some individual is often made, "He could not stand prosperity." The same statement may be equally true of a social group or of a generation. The possession of money increases one's freedom over a wide range of activities and introduces specific types of temptation which are foreign to the one of moderate means. Regardless of whether the youth has money showered upon him by a doting father, or whether he earns a good wage, the following quotation from Pound [1] applies,

> "The pockets of the children are full of money at an age when their fathers earned less than a living wage as parents. They are economically independent of home and social control. They have the eternal belief of youth that the preceding generation is fossilized and the buying power to act upon that belief. They can buy their pleasures, and they do. They can afford to flout age and authority, and they do. Their very active minds have no background and feel the need of none. They have no conception of the cost of civilization; no standard of reference by which to judge social and political questions. They have not even lived long enough to learn the simple truth that common sense and wisdom spring from the same root. With far greater need for early thrift than their elders

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[1] Pound, Arthur, *The Iron Mace in Industry* (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1922).

because their economic life may be shorter, they spurn the homely virtue of economy. They buy pleasures, buy companions, buy glad raiment; they try—desperately—to buy happiness. And fail."

The era of prosperity carries with it a major emphasis upon the ideal of success as a goal. Stress is seldom placed upon the ethical character of the means that are adopted in attaining success. There is no doubt that many youths as well as adults are led into lives of immorality and crime in their effort to tread the "golden highway" to success, as measured by prevailing standards.

The Need for Character Training.—He who surveys many of the factors involved in contemporary society must recognize the futility of any attempt to eliminate them. There is no magic formula by which one can reinstate the home, change the organization and trend of society, or interfere with the spread of knowledge. Nor can one revitalize religious agencies, retard the growth of industry and prosperity, or reconstruct moral ideals of society by a dictum. One may moralize to oneself or others without making any appreciable effect upon these forces or their outcomes. Some form of action is demanded.

It is evident that any attempt to remedy conditions must get beneath the superficial phases and manifest consequences and deal with the real root of the problem. This will be found in the individual attitudes and habits. Let the individuals develop character under wise guidance and an entire generation may be made more moral, and society may be directed into true progressive channels.

One should not make the false assumption that modern society is all wrong. He may gain this pessimistic impression through glancing at the scare-heads of newspapers, especially the tabloids, or the periodical offerings of the news stands. The majority of mankind is wholesome and the heart of humanity sound. Neither should one make the assumption that there is no major problem, or that the problem will naturally be rectified and solved by ordinary processes of social evolution. Enough is known about learning to indicate that trial and error procedures are very wasteful and costly. Intelligence must be applied to the solution, and this points definitely to the need of systematic training in character as the best preventive of individual immorality and the best insurance against moral decadence in society.

OBJECTIVES AND AGENCIES OF CHARACTER TRAINING.—There is a growing tendency to conceive of all education as having a moral goal and to stress the necessity of directing it to this end. Ella Lyman Cabot asked herself one day, "What is education all about?" She went in turn to a mother, father, teacher, and doctor, to inquire of each what they hoped education would do for their children. The mother said, "I want my precious little ones to learn to serve others, to feel themselves a part of the state, and bound to do their share to help the country." The father said, "I want them to stand for a sane and reasonable attitude toward life. Above all, I want them to be courageous and straightforward." The teacher said, "Nothing matters if they will only serve the ideal." The doctor said, "I want to give them and everyone else in the world three things—work, play, and love. I mean that I want them to have the right kind of service and their own best form of recreation and beauty, and the right kind of family and friends."

Such informal expressions as these, together with frank criticisms of educational programs, because of their moral sterility, have made a gradual but strong impression upon educational leaders. There is a note of sincerity in these simple statements, a depth of understanding of life's values, and a clarity of thought that render them more meaningful, at least to the average teacher, than any formal statement of objectives to be found in scientific treatises.

Formal statements of objectives have their value inasmuch as they represent a crystallization of the thoughts of many experts in the field. The following statement which is embodied in the Report of the Committee on Character Education of the National Education Association is one of the best:

1. To develop socially valuable purposes leading in youth or early maturity to the development of life purposes.
2. To develop enthusiasm for the realization of these purposes; and coupled with this enthusiasm, intelligent use of time and energy.
3. To develop the moral judgment—the ability to know what is right in any given situation.
4. To develop the moral imagination—the ability to picture vividly the good or evil consequences to self and to others of any type of behavior.
5. To develop all socially valuable natural capacities of the individual, and to direct the resultant abilities toward successfully fulfilling all one's moral obligations.[2]

To be fully expressed, all statements of objectives must take into account the triumvirate of knowledge, attitudes, and habits. No adequate goal will have been attained until the basic knowledge has had favorable attitudes attached to it in any individual, and these attitudes have been translated into habitual activity. Furthermore that is the most complete and dependable action which is based upon right attitudes and upon well conceived and related facts.

From a practical point of view the school, private and public, is the logical center for character training. Inglis lays down the principle, "whenever any other social agency fails to provide adequately for forms of education socially desirable, the school should assume responsibility for those forms of education as far as possible." [3] It has been noted that other agencies have failed to make adequate provision for moral education and character training, hence the responsibility falls directly upon the school. The school comes in touch with practically all children of the nation for a period long enough to shape their moral potentialities if the proper means are employed. This does not mean that the school is to be the exclusive agency, but it should take the lead, in full coöperation with the home, the church, and all other social agencies. It must even assume the responsibility for teaching parents and religious and social leaders the fundamentals of such training.

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[2] *Bureau of Education Bulletin,* 1926, No. 4 (Washington, D. C.).

[3] Alexander Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1918).

Basic Psychological Considerations.—Granted that there is an adequate concept of objectives to be attained, the next task is to put into operation some method of procedure which will bring about the desired result. This method can succeed only to the extent that it is based upon a correct interpretation of the mental life of the learner. A brief summary of points discussed in preceding pages will be here given to indicate their applicability to this problem.

THE RÔLE OF INSTINCTIVE TENDENCIES

These great motivating forces in life, arising normally in the individual are probably the greatest basic factor in the determination of good or evil tendencies. The process of character building is one in which these forces are brought under control, in terms of individual and social welfare. In themselves neither good nor bad, they may be guided into one or the other channel. Associated as they are with strong emotional urges they become the motivating centers of conduct. No system of character training can ignore them, either as objects of guidance, or as a means to the achievement of desired ends. They cannot be successfully eliminated nor can they be repressed without danger to the balance of the individual. They may be sublimated, modified, directed and controlled, through attention and habit-formation to the mutual good of the individual and society.

HABIT-FORMATION

Instincts form the basis of habits, and habit patterns of infinite variety may be shaped from them. The exaggerated emphasis on an instinctive tendency may become habitual to the point of perversion, even as its control and redirection may become a habit. The pugnacious boy may become a "bully," or one who champions the cause of those who have been wronged. Courtesy, reverence, truthfulness, in fact any of the virtues, can become habitual if a deliberate attempt is made to this end.

Other things being equal, the individual with the most highly perfected group of good habits, thoroughly automatized, has the best character. This does not mean that the one who has developed good habits will never err, but he will be less subject to temptation and more likely to overcome temptation than the one who has not developed such habits. Furthermore, one misstep will not be as liable permanently to set him upon the wrong track. It takes many performances to "break" a deeply rooted habit as well as to fix it originally.

Moral habits can be fixed only by associating the right act with results which are pleasurable to the child, and the wrong acts with those things which are distinctly unpleasant. Such a habit, well fixed is the best guarantee of future good behavior. An act which is pleasing to one may be very disagreeable to another for this reason alone. As a consequence the act offers no temptation.

Specific moral habits of great variety should be taught. They should be widely associated and habituated in a variety of situations. There is no assurance that virtuous habits learned in the home will automatically transfer to the playground or the school. If enough experiences can be provided and so associated that the child can inductively and consciously organize them into a principle or general ideal, at the same time being given a clear notion of its application, a considerable amount of transfer is certain.

One learns to behave as a moral being through living a moral life, not through thinking about it, memorizing moral maxims and stories, or reading ethical literature. In providing for moral instruction in the schools there is a danger that a course in morals may be provided which will consist merely of readings, lectures, memory work, and even catechetical instructions, with little or no reference to the daily life and work of the pupil. Moral instruction should permeate all of the functions of the school and be in constant supervision over all activities in which children engage.

The initiative of the individual is basic to all effective learning. He who has fought out a line of moral action in the storm and stress of life has in general a much firmer foundation than he who has merely adopted in a passive way the admonitions of others. The child must be led to make his own decisions in a definite way regarding the things he considers right, and have the consciousness of establishing his own habits.

It is possible to fix habits so rigidly that the individual becomes incapable of further needed adjustments. He may be blinded to higher values. Some, priding themselves on the fact that they always tell the truth at all costs, are guilty of a brutal kind of frankness which often does more harm than good. The task of building up a strong character that will yet leave the judgment in control for the decision in conflicting ideals is indeed far from easy.

ATTITUDES AND IDEALS

The individual cannot be truly moral until he comes to take definite attitudes toward or away from certain lines of action, and until these attitudes become habitual. A definite attitude favorable to a right action, when once firmly established, gives the assurance of tendencies to act in harmony with this attitude. The attitude may be based upon reasoning or may be directly inferred and spontaneous experience.

Ideals are not needed to evoke virtues and duties. A girl will share her toys with another before she knows the meaning of the word, "unselfishness"; a boy will resent a wrong done to his playmate before he has been taught of "courage" or "justice." However, ideals are useful in providing a carriage for generalizing conduct, and in providing a basis of evaluation. The boy and the girl, later on, will need a more general idea by which they may be guided in specific situations.

The ideal must be arrived at inductively by any individual if it is to be vitally significant. It can have meaning only in the light of experience, and must be given the correct emotional and ideational background. Abstract statements of virtues, and principles of guidance have little or no meaning to the child in the primary grades. Ideals are very complex mental states which must be gradually built out of simple elements. Ideals are not always in harmony. One who is blindly subservient to one ideal at the expense of others is not manifesting any power of analysis or judgment. Character training must involve the process of evaluation and the development of reasoning relative to the application of ideals. Bode notes [4] two ways in which guidance by ideals may take place. One is represented by the individual who, when faced with a new situation, seizes upon one ideal and acts upon it, considering no other values. A student may help others to information during an examination and be sincere in the conviction that he has thereby been kind and helpful. The puritanic moralist may drive his son from home forever because he has brought disgrace upon his family by sinful conduct. Such individuals are characterized by irrational behavior. They "strain at gnats and swallow camels." The other way is the use of ideals as an aid to the analysis of a situation so that the individual may find all of the values involved and acquire new insights. In the ordinary life of the child, his games, sports, simple business dealings, home relations, and general social life, there are numerous daily situations which present moral crises and which may be used as material for training in moral evaluation.

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[4] B. H. Bode, *Fundamentals of Education* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921), p. 69.

SUGGESTION AND IMITATION

Groves[5] in a recent study of the problems of juvenile delinquency shows that children differ greatly in their response to suggestion, some being abnormally responsive. These are easily led into delinquency. Although otherwise normal, and although aware of the wrong nature of the act, the image of it is so vivid to them that they cannot overcome the impulse to translate it into action. Such children are readily hurt by bad environmental conditions; e. g., evil companions, the immoral or melodramatic motion picture, vicious newspapers, and unwholesome literature. Of course, they will respond just as readily to good influences as to evil ones. The school can be made a very potent influence in moulding the lives of all children if it creates the right kind of an environment. This should be patterned as closely as possible after the ideal home and major influences should be used in every way possible. The motion picture is recognized as the greatest force for good or evil in its suggestive power that our generation knows, yet the moral agencies have not as yet made any adequate use of it to the end of character training, as an agency to neutralize the vicious effect of many present-day cinema productions.

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[5] E. R. Groves, *Social Problems and Education* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1925), pp. 18–19.

Imitation plays such a major part in the child's learning, and is so deeply rooted that many examples of fine conduct must be provided in any plan of character training. Some of these may be found in the immediate environment of the classroom or community. They may be national heroes, past or present, great men in science and industry, or they may be the fictitious characters of novels and dramas. The biographies of great men and women and the confessions of the inmates of penal institutions testify to the respective good or evil effect of fiction read in the early years.

MacCunn[6] and Horne[7] both caution against an over-dependence upon the use of such examples. Some individuals are so lacking in imagination that they are unable to put themselves in the place of the character who exemplifies the virtue. Some find it impossible to catch the spirit of an example and reproduce it in some practical commonplace situation. The example should be presented vividly and with feeling, and the learners should be guided in translating the ideal characteristics to daily life.

PROVERBS, COMMANDMENTS, CODES OF CONDUCT

MEANS AND METHODS IN CHARACTER EDUCATION.—Racial experience in dealing with problems of right living have been crystallized and passed on in the form of proverbs, precepts, and codes. All of these have a place in any plan of moral education, but should be used properly and at the right time. They represent abstractions which are meaningless to the young child without the proper background. They may be memorized comparatively early and kept in the mind for later reference but this procedure is extremely wasteful. In any case they need to be given pointed application. Proverbs need careful selection, for many of them refer to matters of policy and prudence rather than principles and ideals. Many of them also stand in actual contradiction to each other.

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[6] John MacCunn, *The Making of Character* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913).

[7] H. H. Horne, *Psychological Principles of Education* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1905).

Children must be told to do certain things and not to do others. Some commands must be rigidly enforced. As early as possible the child should be led to see the reason for the injunction and to give his hearty assent to it. Commands and codes should be stated positively as far as possible, although there are situations where the negative emphasis must be given. Even our best moral codes need interpretation and evaluation in certain situations with a view to deciding which command is most important,

Discipline may be considered an experience which fits the child for the stern realities of life. Only he who has learned to obey can know how to be a good law-abiding citizen and a leader of others. The best type of obedience is reasoning, co-operative acceptance. This type has been neglected both in the home and the school. A new principal went to take charge of a school which had a bad reputation in matters of discipline. His first act was to tear down the list of negative commands from the door; his next act was to call the pupils into a conference and have the children formulate their own rules. The school became a model of good behavior.

Stories with a moral attached, parables, poetry expressing a moral ideal, and similar material are sometimes used as a means of giving instruction and motivation. Such material was very common a century ago, but is seldom found in the modern readers. France makes use of it in her thorough system of civic and moral instruction. Scientific studies are needed to evaluate the effectiveness of this point of approach.

CORRELATION

The curricula of the school embody an abundance of subject matter which may be turned to ends of character training by proper emphasis. The history courses provide examples of good and evil conduct with their consequences and give much opportunity for the training of moral judgment. Science courses may be developed so as to show the reign of natural law and the consequences of violating these laws. In reading, art, composition, drama, and the like the child may receive lasting impressions and give his own expression of moral ideas. The extracurricular activities are filled with possibilities for developing moral habits when properly supervized and directed. Practical courses in civics, when accompanied by training in self-government, are essentially courses in morals.

DIRECT MORAL INSTRUCTION

Many schools are trying to work out plans where moral instruction may be given in a direct form. Leaders in this movement contend that the child's accidental experiences cannot be relied upon to give him an insight into the basic principles underlying right conduct. He must have his mind focused specifically on these by studying them as he would study science or any other subject. In some schools the pupils study the virtues, as so many chapters in character, then point out their applications. In other schools the method is reversed, being inductive: the children begin by discussing conduct of individuals and specific situations, then build up the general principle involved, the ideal which is to serve as a standard by which they are to guide their own conduct when placed in a similar situation. It is evident that the instruction must reach beyond the classroom if it is to be effective in fixing habits in accordance with these ideals.

A method which places a good deal of initiative upon the child is the one devised by Miss Cassidy of Lexington, Kentucky. Each class has a blank book with "Golden Deeds" placed upon the cover. Children are stimulated to search for good deeds worthy to be recorded in the book. For ten minutes each morning pupils tell of the various acts of kindness, obedience, courage, etc., they have seen, and, at the close of the period the class chooses the ones out of this list which shall be placed in the book of honor. Another method is the Brownlee System of Child Training (Toledo, Ohio) in which certain virtues are made the subjects of morning talks, one each month, the emphasis being placed then for the month upon putting the virtue into application in all situations.

Various organizations which have as a chief purpose a systematic training in character have been developed. The Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the Camp Fire organizations not only place emphasis upon wholesome social relations under careful supervision, and cultivate the love for the out-of-doors, but also have the oath which embodies a fine type of ideals, and stress the doing of at least one good deed each day.

The Pathfinders of America, founded by J. F. Wright, began an educational program in prisons, but later transferred its work also to the elementary schools above the Fourth Grade and to the high schools. The basic motto which members of the council are pledged to observe is "To know the law and to live a life of service." Children meet at least once a month with a pathfinder instructor who gives them lessons on such topics as anger, self-control, suggestion and honesty, the lessons being told in story form and illustrated "with examples that stick."

The Knighthood of Youth is a character training organization for children from eight to twelve years of age which seeks to enlist the coöperation of parents under the leadership of the school in a practical system of exercises embodying what are considered the twelve fundamentals of good character. The children keep charts on which they record daily performances relating to the traits listed. A progressive series of titles are awarded to the pupils as they finish a given number of exercises. This procedure is psychologically sound in that it attempts to apply the principles of habit formation. The value of this plan, as well as any other, can be preserved only as long as it can be kept from rigid formalization.

TESTS AND MEASUREMENT IN CHARACTER EDUCATION.—The study of character and moral education from a scientific point of view has been retarded because of the lack of adequate technique. No thorough method of analyzing emotional states has yet been discovered. There has been a hesitancy in applying experimental methods to problems in this field because such experimentation must involve the setting up of opportunities to do wrong, and this in itself is considered unethical.

There have been some attempts at character analysis, as in the work of Jung among the psychoanalysts, Mercier and other psychopathologists, Berman, and Watson. Case studies have thrown some light on the interplay of elements of personality in character building. A large number of psychologists have enumerated and classified traits and character qualities. Various devices for the rating of personality have been devised, involving character elements as an important phase. One of the most difficult steps which have been undertaken is that of making objective tests and measurements of character traits. Such tests must actually measure what they purport to measure and must consist of concrete situations, the response to which will indicate with precision the presence or absence of a trait in the individual, or the degree to which any trait obtains. The work of May, Hartshorne, and Voelker is especially noteworthy in this field, not only for their immediate contribution, but also as a promise of much more to be accomplished in the future.

Questions and Exercises

1. Indicate other factors than those named which produce crime and immorality.
2. Do you think it likely that character can be so built up in the lives of a later generation that all will be thoroughly law-abiding?
3. Is the youth who has been carefully guarded from temptation and supervised by a watchful parent truly moral? Can he be said to have built up habits of moral control? Under what conditions will attitudes have been built up which will safeguard him when he is given liberty?
4. Cite specific cases of moral decline and of moral growth so as to indicate the causative factors at work.
5. Give illustrations of conflicting ideals and indicate the solution.
6. Give instances of proverbs which are contrary to each other.
7. To what extent has the public school been an agent of moral education? In what ways has it failed?
8. Keeping all the suggestions of this chapter in mind, outline a program of character training which you believe will meet the needs of the present crisis.
9. Can a sensitive conscience be developed in any individual? How?
10. What use should be made of the emotions in moral education and why?

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CHAPTER XXV

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

While men believe in the possibilities of children being religious, they are largely failing to make them so, because they are offering them not a child's but a man's religion—men's forms of truth and men's forms of experience.

PHILLIPS BROOKS

EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION DEFINED.—Education has been defined as the production of useful changes in behavior. Although there are thousands of definitions extant, from a psychological point of view this definition is as good as any. From a sociological consideration one would find it necessary to add the thought that these changes should be of social value. The gang leader produces changes in his followers through instruction, changes which are useful to them individually in achieving their particular ends, but this is not considered true education since the ends are socially destructive.

These changes that are produced may be classified in terms of (1) knowledge and information, (2) attitudes, interests and ideals, and (3) habits and skills, involving mental skills in imagination and reasoning as well as ordinary motor habits. Religious education is a phase of general educational activity, having as its goal the production of certain kinds of changes. The great objective is the development of individuals possessing a ready command of facts regarding the historic background of religious life and creative power of the Divine; interest in religious matters and attitudes and ideals of reverence, worship and obedience to a Divine will, as well as of service to one's fellows; and habits of religious activity and religious thinking. The end sought is a body of experiences which will foster the building of happy, wholesome characteristics as a means toward a good life.

The religious life is so bound up with particular institutions of religious thought and customs that it is difficult to isolate religious education from its church affiliations. Each sectarian group feels it necessary to emphasize the traditional loyalties to the church as the best basis of religious instruction and safe guidance. From one point of view, this is justified, since such instruction is thereby given a concrete setting and a definite body of sanctions, and a responsibility is fixed for carrying on the tradition of the group and the perpetuation of the institution. From another point of view, intolerance may be thus fostered, and individuals may come to see their religious responsibilities as narrowly sectarian rather than broadly social. Some churches do not regard any program of religious education carried on by competing sects as really religious. In a broad sense the religious institution must be considered only as an incident to the ends which religious education seeks.

THE ORGANIZATION OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.—In one form or another the child has always been given some type of religious instruction by the social group through the particular agencies which were responsible for propagating religious activities. With the development of sectarian groups it was natural that they should direct and control such instruction. As a particular church group or denomination came to dominate in a certain area, it was also natural that the social institutions subservient to it should be interested in this task. Thus the schools of the Middle Ages and later were primarily religious schools. The early schools of colonial New England placed the chief emphasis upon religion in all instruction, in fact might be considered vocational preparatory schools to theological seminaries.

As the concept of the necessary separation of church and state developed, and as the demands of society grew more complex, the schools became less and less religious in character until the public school became recognized as strictly secular. Even the right to read the Scriptures in the school has been gradually denied by legal decree.

Coincident with this development the Sunday School originated and has grown to large proportions. Starting as a school in which laborers might be taught to read and write on their one free day of the week, it was gradually taken over by the churches as an agent for distinctly religious instruction. In many churches it has become the major method of imparting basic concepts and interpretations of doctrine, knowledge of the church and scriptures, and religious attitudes and habits. It has been recognized as a vital factor in the perpetuation of the life and work of the institution. The advantage of having the religious life of the pupil developed under the direct auspices and in the religious atmosphere of the church is obvious. All churches have recognized the inadequacy of the single hour of such an environment thus provided out of the more than one hundred waking hours of the child's life each week.

The churches often carry on other activities along this line. The religious service and sermon are used as instruments of religious education for young and old. Churches are more and more finding the value of a service and sermon especially for children, possibly preceding the adult service, and of special programs of recitation, music, and drama in which the children take part.

In some churches it is customary to take the children into the church as full participants only after confirmation, preceded by a probationary period in which careful supervision, guidance, and instruction are given. Special classes are organized and the tenets, doctrines, and rituals of the church are explained. An effort is made to have the child sense the responsibility resting upon him in the step he is about to take. A beautiful and effective presentation of the work of a pastor as a teacher of children is given in Longfellow's "The Children of the Lord's Supper."

Some church groups have favored the development of the parochial school, in which the customary standards of instruction in fundamental school subjects could be met, but which would permit the utmost freedom of religious instruction in relation to all school activities. They firmly believe that the tree will be shaped the way the twig is bent, and do not find in the public school any assurance that loyalty to the church and religious principles will be fostered by its influence.

The indirect influence of the church upon the home and the growing up of many organizations within the church such as the young people's societies have been significant factors. Religious and semi-religious organizations outside of the church, such as the Y. M. C. A., have been carrying on definite programs of religious instruction in close correlation with social activities.

Such programs of religious education as exist have proved disappointing, especially because a large proportion of the children have not thereby been reached, or have not been reached effectively. There has been a growing conviction that matters of religion should be placed on at least an equal footing with other school subjects. Various plans for effecting this have been suggested and tried. Recognizing the impossibility of using the school time of the pupil, week-day schools of religious instruction are conducted after the close of school on a certain day or days of the week. The coöperation of parents is solicited, and the children assigned to instruction with the denominational group which parents select. Where local feeling permits, the school rooms are used. If this is not allowed, the children gather in nearby churches or homes. By some plans the children are graded on progress, promoted as in other classes, and given credit on the records and report cards for satisfactory work.

These week-day classes succeed only where local leadership is enthusiastic and efficient. Two of the major problems are that of securing teachers who are properly qualified, and of providing a properly graded program of studies. There is a danger that such study will degenerate into a monotonous drill, highly formalized and uninteresting, with the result that children will resent being kept away from play, and will associate a decided feeling of unpleasantness with religious matters in general. Such plans must be regarded as expedients in an attempt to fill in a glaring deficiency in public education. They can have but little effect in developing in the children a sense of the unitary character of life, or a conviction that religious attitudes and ideals should permeate all of their thinking.

The various denominations should coöperate in working out a program of religious instruction which could be imparted to all school children in connection with their daily work. This instruction cannot be based upon theological concepts, for in the public school program even the atheists have the right to a voice. It could not deal with any particular body of sacred writings or dogmas. It could, however, develop attitudes of wonder, which is the basis of worship, and could stress the sacredness of human life and social responsibility. One wonders how long it will be until educational and religious leaders will vision this great common need and provide for *all* children—those who will not come in contact with churches, as well as those who do—their rightful share in the great religious heritage which is common to all creeds and a characteristic of the finer, higher impulses.

THE CURRICULUM OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.—The basic material for instruction and study will vary as widely as the specific objectives. The main line of development in recent years has been in the way of providing a richer body of subject matter, and organizing materials in such a way that they are better adapted to the age level. Much remains to be done in both of these lines.

The traditional procedure was to teach the scriptures and to have the children memorize long passages of scripture and catechisms regardless of interest or understanding. In place of the common "hit and miss" procedure, a logical organization and analysis was forwarded by the International Sunday School Association. This plan provided for a series of lessons running throughout the year, following a consecutive thought, and accompanied by lesson helps to guide the student and the teacher in presenting the material. The same lesson was taught to those of all ages, however, and little insight into child nature was evident in the plan of presentation to those of earlier years.

A more psychological movement has been the development of Graded Lessons in that an attempt has been made to fit the material to age interests. Not merely are the lessons themselves adapted, but they are accompanied by supplementary material and helps which are appropriate to the level. These lessons should be under constant and thorough criticism and analysis with a view of continuous revision in the light of disclosed needs. Let no one ever consider for a moment that the lessons have reached a stage of perfection.

Many leaders in religious education express a fear that too much ordinary secular material is being introduced into religious training. As a matter of fact this is a move in the right direction. Such content will help more than anything else to build up religious associations with daily activities, if properly presented. Much would be gained by giving the material which the child studies in the publc school a religious setting. Studies in natural and social science should be referred to and used in the school of religious education as a means of building up the proper religious attitudes regarding the God of Nature and the ideals of service to one's fellows. The teacher of religion should feel free to take any material available that is suited to the interests of the children and the purpose in view, and turn it to account in religious instruction, never of course neglecting a proper emphasis upon the scriptures of other traditional backgrounds that build character.

THE TEACHER IN RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.—It has long been recognized that the educational program can be no stronger than the teacher who presents it to the child. A well planned curriculum and organization may become ineffective in the hands of one who is not a good teacher. It was once considered that the only requisite for teaching was a willingness to teach, possibly supplemented by a fair knowledge of the subject. The present point of view recognizes the need for thorough training and preparation, as well as a special personal fitness which adapts one to teaching. Furthermore, the teacher who is adapted to the work with children of one age may be altogether unfitted for dealing with those of a different age.

The work of education in Sunday Schools has been greatly hampered by a lack of good teachers. Those who have been willing and anxious to serve in this capacity have not always been adequately equipped either by nature or training to undertake the critical task. The church has been forced to accept those who were available, even where they were known to be unsuited for the place. The teaching position becomes a vested interest in many instances with the result that it is almost impossible to remove the teacher even though he or she may prove to be quite incapable of carrying on the work successfully.

Methods of training teachers have been undertaken in various ways. Children in the school are given training in service, at first helping as assistants, then substitutes, and later as regular teachers with full responsibility. There is sometimes a criticism of the practice of letting young people teach, but occasionally a boy or girl in the teens will be better fitted to conduct a class of primary children than most adults available, especially when properly trained for the task.

Local, community, or county training schools or institutes have developed. These meet periodically, have programs, lectures, and demonstrations, and give credit for courses together with diplomas on graduation. These should be supplemented with actual practice teaching under supervision, to be most effective.

Churches which can afford the outlay are engaging directors of religious education who have been thoroughly trained in the teaching techniques, supervision, and administration of religious instruction in high-grade educational institutions. They usually have a command of scientific methods, and, granting that they possess proper personality traits, can place the educational work of the church upon a sound basis. As an integral part of their work they undertake to train and place the teachers according to their peculiar fitness for a position.

Many churches have placed their teachers upon a pay basis, feeling that they thereby have the right and the power to demand a certain standard of ability and preparation which was not possible under the older plan of gratuitous service, and also freedom to discharge help that proves inefficient. Some claim that this will introduce formalism in the instruction, and a type of teacher who is more interested in the pay than in the real development of religious life in the children. This need not be so to a greater extent than obtains in the public schools, if properly supervised. Careful checks should be made to prevent such a trend and to indicate whether there is such a tendency.

In an effort to ensure good teaching, many communities have made special efforts to secure the help of public school teachers. In many smaller communities, school teachers are appointed to positions in the light of their fitness and willingness to teach in the local church schools, and teachers are made to feel uncomfortable if they hold aloof from active work in these schools. This procedure is never justifiable. The public school teacher has enough teaching in her regular activities without being burdened with extra work. A much wiser procedure would be to secure their incidental help as advisers of technique, methods, and curricula, and as aids in a program of teacher-training. Of course such teachers as desire to work in the church school should not be prevented from doing so in positions where they may be most effective.

THE TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING.—There is nothing essentially different in the work of the church school and that of the public school. The same methods are applicable. The religious school, meeting for a short period once a week, is in need of even more intensive and effective work than the public school if the lessons are to be thoroughly taught. There has been a thoroughgoing change in educational procedures on the basis of scientific studies in recent years, and the church school should take advantage of the latest and best methods. Text-books in educational psychology, general method, and special method used in the training of public school teachers should be used for reference, and applications made in the field of religious education. Special texts in method of religious education are becoming more numerous and with a sound basis of development.

The old-fashioned school was notable for its lack of teaching devices. Only the Scriptures and lesson leaves were used. The modern church school deems it a matter of real economy to provide blackboards, sand-tables, blocks, boxes, colored crayons, pictures, plastic clay, supplementary reading materials, libraries, musical instruments, and similar material in abundance appropriate for the various classes.

The modern school is also noteworthy for its emphasis upon activities which are appropriate to the various age levels. One need not be surprised or shocked to find children in such schools busy in the making of temples, drawing crude but effective pictures of historic scenes, writing and reading stories which they have composed, engaging in debates, or playing games. Such activities are at the root of interest. There are many such schools to which the pupils do not have to be driven. It would be difficult to keep them away. The law of effect is operating to give them pleasant associations with religious education and environment.

Lessons should be organized as elements of a larger unit dealing with a topic which is designed to lead to a certain specific goal. There should be some definite means of discovering whether or not this goal has been attained for the group as a whole as well as for the individual pupil. Each lesson should be so planned as to make a specific contribution to this goal. This should involve the making of a lesson plan in which the object is definitely stated and the procedures outlined which will lead to the fulfilment of the purpose, as well as criteria by which it may be known whether or not the purpose has been attained.

The skilful teacher is one who is able to stimulate the initiative of the child and give personal responsibility to the members of the group, while she takes the background and acts as a guide to such activities as go forward. The pupil thus becomes active and creative, not merely a passive listener to boresome discourses. That which the child himself does is much more significant to him in his learning than any amount of formal instruction. When a group is busily engaged in some activity for which each has some responsible part there is a sense of social unity which was never achieved under the old form of instruction.

The problem of home study has been largely solved by a proper emphasis upon the laboratory method or the project method of instruction. If there is an interesting task to be done, the child will do any amount of work outside of the school period in preparation, such as the collecting of materials, the writing of stories or plays, and the working out of reports.

The teacher should be thoroughly acquainted with other methods, their advantages and disadvantages, and the cautions which are needed to make them effective. The teacher of any grade, and particularly of the grades for the younger children, should be a master of story-telling, with an abundance of stories at her command. When skilfully conducted, the discussion method will prove very fruitful, especially with the intermediate and upper-grade classes. Organized argument or debate is adapted to the needs and interests of the adolescent, and there are many problems to which this method is appropriate. The recitation method which depends upon the making of assignments, study, and question and answer appears to be the easiest method of all, hence is the most common. As a matter of fact, this method is the most difficult to carry on successfully and requires special preparation and skill. A great amount of poor teaching may be attributed to an ineffective use and an over-dependence upon this method. Lessons are not prepared, thought is not stimulated, children are not guided in study, interest is not aroused. Hence the lesson may become a mere dull routine with no beneficial effects. The socialized recitation, in which the children coöperate in the doing of interesting assignments and each feels himself a responsible member of the group, is a valuable variation from ordinary procedures. The lecture method, in which the teacher does all the talking should be sparingly used. In the older classes some form of research may be used in advantage. This method calls for investigation of other sources than the text or the observation of life activities in the community.

No single method should be used week after week. Even during one session a variety of methods may be used. This will liven up the work of the class and prevent a deadly monotony and uniformity. When the laboratory activity is emphasized the recitation or discussion method may be used as a means of imparting a social unity and of fixing definite points in mind. A debate by two members may be followed by a general discussion in which all members of the class participate. Exhibits of work done in a class may be made before the whole school as an incentive to more effective activity of pupils.

In any lesson the teacher should show herself a master of development of a lesson plan. There must be a skilful preparation of the mind of the child for the lesson which is to follow. The teacher must start with the child's own ideas rather than her own adult notions, develop concepts and interests which will make the lesson meaningful, and give each child a direct contact with the lesson topic. Preceding lessons should have served to give the proper background, and all that may be needed is a brief review, a few questions, or a discussion which will give the necessary integration. In any case, this part of the lesson should be brief. Each lesson, of whatever character it may be, should be concluded with a brief summary of points made. This assures the achievement of the object in view and provides a preparation for the next lesson.

Emphasis is more and more being placed upon the inductive method, in which the child is led to abstract statements of ideals and ideas by carefully planned experiences. This will usually provide a much better understanding than by the deductive plan, consisting of a statement of the general idea with an exposition and illustration of it. No general rule can be given as to the use of the direct method. In some instances the goal can be best achieved by indirection, that is, by leading the interest of the children through stories or other activities. In other cases a direct attack may be made upon the lesson. This depends upon the attitudes and interests of the children. Here, as in every other phase of the learning process, the teacher should be adaptable, and above all, not bound by traditional usage.

The teacher should be skilled, not only in the major aspects of method, but also in the details of procedure, such as the asking of questions, the conducting of reviews, the giving of tests, and the correlation of the work of the school with that of public education.

One who is to be an effective agent in influencing the religious life of the child cannot consider his task done merely within the confines of the class period. Intimate contacts should be established with the child so there are frequent or at least occasional visits with the child, or parties for the class group. The thoughtful teacher will call up the children by telephone occasionally, or drop notes signifying interest; of sympathy in case of illness, or of congratulations if some honor be awarded or special pleasure experienced. Simple gifts for birthdays or other occasions aid in establishing helpful contacts. Not infrequently the good teacher will receive telephone calls from pupils seeking advice on lesson preparation or problems of religious life. Any interest of the child, however insignificant it may appear, should never be slighted or neglected.

Order and Discipline.—Children often take advantage of conditions in a church school to engage in mischievous and disorderly activities. They know that order cannot be enforced by punishment, suspension, or expulsion, as in the public school, and act without restraint. It is evident that such tendencies must be controlled for the sake of the individual and group welfare. The child who is disorderly and rebellious in the religious school is not merely making associations which are not helpful from a religious or social point of view; he is probably being actually injured by these associations. Bad behavior should never be tolerated.

The teacher should never make use of ridicule or sarcasm, or give evidence of anger. These are almost certain ways of losing the control and the respect of the class. Above all the teacher must set an example of virtues which are properly associated with the religious instruction. The chief means of control is the securing of the interest of all children. The child who is busily engaged in some intensely interesting activity is not one who gives trouble in discipline. Under such conditions any child who is disorderly may be punished by having certain privileges withdrawn. He no longer remains a real member of the coöperative group. He is soon made sensitive to his personal loss and will show a marked improvement in attitude when reinstated. Too many teachers treat cases of disorder in a purely formal or legalistic way. Much may be gained in any case by a calm, heart-to-heart talk with the misbehaving child, in which he is led to see the necessity of good behavior, and to become aware of the love which the teacher has for him. It is seldom indeed that a child will prove unresponsive to such treatment. Coöperation with the home in the analysis and care of problem cases is essential.

THE TESTING OF RESULTS.—Deliberate attention should be given to the effects of instruction upon the pupils concerned. A careful study of the children will reveal changes in attitudes and habits as well as bodies of information which are the direct product of instruction in the school of religion. A record should be kept and filed which will trace each child's development. Far-sighted leaders are insisting upon a follow-up of each child, and continuing the record of him and contact with him, even after he has left the school or the community. What becomes of the child whom we have trained in our church school? Has he acquired life-long religious habits? How many of the children who have come under our influence go wrong? What are the causes of their delinquency? What things may we do which have not yet been done to lay firmer foundations of attitude and habit for them? These are some of the pertinent queries which every such school should be constantly asking and to which it should be seeking answers.

With regard to knowledge gained, there is no reason why the school should not give tests in much the same way as they are given in the public school. Brief tests have been developed which have been standardized to some extent at least. These tests deal with information regarding the Scriptures and are excellent methods, as far as they go, of discovering quickly the amount of knowledge the pupils have in the field and of comparing their record with that of other groups or with their own records of an earlier date. The teacher may construct her own tests, preferably the new-type tests,[1] with the aid of a hectograph or other duplicating device. Such tests will prove a great aid to motivation when properly used. Not only do the children consider it fun to take the test; they are also greatly interested in the results and undertake serious study that they may stand higher in the competition. Of course tests of this nature are not so appropriate to primary pupils, or to those in the advanced grades.

ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AGENCIES.—Too much care and emphasis cannot be given to the matter of providing the child with the proper environment. All the surroundings of the child should be in harmony with the purpose in view. The architecture of the church school and the art and ornamentation of the school rooms should express the best taste and the most beautiful aspirations. The pupils may be taken out into the "great temple of nature" and lessons be there conducted, if it is at all convenient. It is a mistake to face the children with bare walls, crude and broken furnishings, and ugly surroundings, for it is through beauty that the emotional life of the child is stirred toward higher things. Beauty of music, whether singing or instrumental, is on the same plane as beauty in art. Both may be made of highest service to religious ends, and the arousal of the finer feelings and sentiments.

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[1] C. W. Odell, *Traditional Examinations and New-Type Tests* (The Century Co., New York, 1928).

Some plan should be effected, wherever possible, whereby two classes do not meet in the same room. Very little learning can go on in a room where distractions are frequent. Shut out the sight by screens, and the sounds remain. The individual classroom is a necessity. Fortunate is the church which has a building especially planned and equipped for a church school with an abundance of rooms for all class needs. The next best scheme is to have an auditorium partitioned off as desired by the use of folding and sliding doors. Each room should be provided with furniture, or other materials which are appropriate to the needs of the children and to the work in which they are engaged.

As a rule too much relative time is spent in the assembly preceding the class instruction. Such a gathering has its place as a social stimulus and a unifying element, but it is usually given such emphasis as to interefere with the valuable work of the class group. It is well to have the pupils themselves take part in assembly exercises, such as singing, playing instruments, making recitations, or reading Scriptures. Lively singing by the whole group may be used to quicken the spirit of a meeting, but should be used carefully, for it may serve to give anything but religious and worshipful associations.

He who administers a school should keep in mind and apply as far as possible the principles of democratic government. In other words he should not attempt to be the dictator of the organization. The teachers and pupils as well should be led to take a creative attitude toward the school and coöperate fully with the head in its control and operation. Ideas should be gathered from all sources, and discussed openly.

There are many unsolved problems relative to the installation of grading and promotion schemes. It is evident that the public school procedures cannot be used as models since the plan would then have to include demotion and failure in a grade, as well as promotion only when a passing mark is made. Neither is it generally feasible to promote year by year except in the highly organized large school. The general usage is to promote a child from one department to another, as for example from the primary to the intermediate, after the child has spent the requisite number of years or has reached a certain age. The experience of the public schools has shown that the mental age must be taken into account in any adequate grading system, but inasmuch as mental tests could hardly be administered in the church school, this factor could be considered only by the judgments of the teachers, or possibly through discovering the mental age of pupils from the records of the public school where the authorities are willing for such information to be given out. Classes in which there is little homogeneity of intelligence of pupils are more difficult for teachers to handle successfully than those which have been carefully selected. The granting of diplomas on promotion and the planning of appropriate "graduation exercises" are aids to motivation.

There is much dispute as to whether or not teachers should be promoted with their pupils. Much depends upon the local situation. If the teacher is especially successful with the group and can readily adapt to older age groups, it may be done, on the assumption that the children's lives will be touched more deeply through continued contact with the one teacher, also that they will thereby be held from drifting away from the school. If the teacher is an excellent one, it would appear that her influence should be imparted to other groups in the department where she has been working. If she is a poor teacher or one who is not adapted to older ages, the plan would be disastrous. As a general rule the departmental plan is best. The teacher becomes thoroughly informed in the teaching of subject matter and the use of methods particularly adapted to a certain age level, and collects a fund of material suitable for this purpose.

One of the greatest problems the administrator has to meet is the securing of an adequate personnel for the teaching staff who will be regular in attendance and faithful in the performance of duties. It is advisable to have a body of trained assistants and substitutes within the various departments who can serve on call, either temporarily or permanently. Nothing is so destructive of the morale of a group as the constant change of teachers, and especially the haphazard introduction of teachers who are unprepared and unfitted for the work.

Another major problem is that having to do with the building and holding of membership and the securing of regular attendance of pupils at school sessions. The basic solution is found in the use of the best curriculum and the best methods. Drives for membership, competition of groups in securing new members, prizes for regular attendance, and similar devices are valuable aids, but unless these are followed by the kind of organization and teaching which will have "holding power" they will prove to be merely "a flash in the pan" and the effort will be largely wasted. All suspicion of proselyting should be carefully avoided. There are in every community a group of the unchurched parents and children who are often neglected, but who are in need of sympathetic interest. The church school can provide no better laboratory for the development of religious habits and attitudes.

THE CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL.—There is a strong and well-founded suspicion that, hitherto, more attention has been paid to the adult than to the child, with a consequent loss of perspective. Adult services are held, adult sermons are delivered, adult points of view determine the work in religious education, and adult interpretations of dogmas are taught to the children and memorized by them with but little resultant meaning. Adults sometimes begrudge the time and money spent upon the little folks. The pendulum is swinging the other way. Even as the public school is becoming more child-centered, the religious institutions must likewise recognize the need. If the church of the next generation is to be a vital force in religious and social life, it will be because the children of the present generation have been taught the basic principles and habits of religious thought in an effective way. Secure the interest and enthusiasms of little children and they prove magnets to draw the parents.

Let institutions of religion once vision their task as that of serving the child, rather than having the child serve them, and denominational differences will greatly disappear as they unite in the common sacred task. Temples of Childhood should arise where children of all faiths may and will gather and partake of a common religious heritage. The task of religious education will not be complete as long as there is one child who does not conceive of every detail of his life as potent with sacred relationships and responsibilities. This is the proper creative work to which all who can serve in this field are called.

Questions and Exercises

1. What principles should be kept in mind by one who delivers sermons to children? Is the pastor of a church always fitted for this type of work? Illustrate or cite instances of poor procedure.
2. Outline a plan to show how each of the public school subjects might be so presented as to develop religious impressions and appreciations.
3. In the task of developing music appreciation in the community life of a large city, the leaders in the movement found it necessary to start their program by teaching the public-school teachers. What does this indicate regarding any general plan of religious instruction?
4. What are some of the criticisms which you may make of the

curricula, methods, and organization of religious instruction in your own community? Give suggestions for improvement.

5. What part does the general social life of a school of religion play in developing desirable attitudes and habits? How can it be regulated to this end?
6. Explain why some who have been forced to attend church and Sunday School in early life often react against all religious activities at a later period. How can this be avoided?
7. Give a number of projects which would be suitable for religious education at the various age levels, and indicate how they might be carried out.
8. Discuss the following topics: 1. The lethargy of adult church groups toward the work with children. 2. The domination of young people's organizations by adults. 3. Difficulty of securing the assistance of the members of the congregation who are best fitted for leadership. 4. Humanity and sympathy of the teacher as a compensation for poor training.
9. Rousseau advocated the plan of never teaching a child anything about God or religion; in fact, letting him develop his own concepts, which would be real to him. Would this be justifiable?

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CHAPTER XXVI

PLAY AND RECREATION

Sweet recreation barred, what doth ensue but moody and dull melancholy, kinsman to grin and comfortless despair; and at their heels, a huge infectious troop of pale distemperatures and foes of life.

SHAKESPEARE

DEFINITION OF PLAY.—There is a clear-cut distinction between play and work in the minds of most people. Yet if one is asked to point out the difference, he is likely to say, "Work requires the use of energy, while play does not." Evidently this is not true, for play may be and usually is a highly active type of behavior and takes a great toll of human energy, sometimes to the point of exhaustion. Another will say, "Work is the use of physical energy, while play is mental." This individual is thinking only of a certain kind of play, for much of play is distinctly muscular. In any case, mental fatigue cannot be considered as distinct from physical fatigue. Other interpretations commonly given are that work is purposeful while play is spontaneous and random, and that work refers to some future indirect end while play reveals an interest only in some immediate goal. Both of these concepts are proved inadequate, for play may be highly purposeful and much work is directed to the accomplishment of a task without reference to its consequences.

The best interpretation of play appears to be that it is an attitude which one takes toward his activity. What is play to one individual may be work to another. That which is play on one occasion may be considered work on another occasion.

Work activity may quite suddenly change into play activity, or vice versa, for any individual. Thus one may make hard work of golf while another really plays golf. The football player may start the season with a play attitude toward the game, but before the season has advanced very far may find that the routine of drill and forced effort has changed the whole activity into an intense and arduous kind of work. The boy works when he carries wood into the basement at the command of his father. Later on he will carry a larger amount of wood a greater distance to build a house, and throughout the activity be engaged in play. The activity which is undertaken as a result of adaptation to extrinsic forces and for which the individual is not in a state of readiness is work. When one is ready to engage in any activity and is denied the privilege of doing so, the work attitude is set up. Thus idleness may be the hardest kind of work. Play is the doing of any activity for which the individual has a predisposing readiness, or even the refraining from that behavior for which he has some antipathy. Once engaged in the work activity, however, there may be such a complete adaptation that the activity takes on the form of play.

Not all play is active. Some forms are true relaxation, in which the individual becomes passive, mentally or physically, and lets the environmental forces lead him wherever they will. Much amusement is of this type. A person may attend the theatre in this mood and derive much enjoyment from thorough relaxation. Others take their amusements very seriously; in fact, work very hard at the task of being amused.

THEORIES OF PLAY.—There are at least six definite theories of the origin of play. The first five of these theories may be considered partial explanations or interpretations, relating only to certain aspects of the problem.

1. The atavistic theory, sponsored by the G. Stanley Hall

school of psychology, places the emphasis upon hereditary factors. Play activities are regarded as the rudiments of activities carried on in the earlier history of the race. According to this view, he who would understand play must look backward. The child engages in a certain kind of play because his ancestors imprinted the neural pattern of this kind of activity upon succeeding generations. There is no scientific evidence to support this theory. The tendency of a child to play in a certain way is not found to be inborn, or native.

A phase of this theory carries the matter further, and explains the play stages of the growing child as a recapitulation of the history of the race. Children climb trees at a certain age because their ancestors of a certain period lived in trees. They dig caves in the sand and live in them at another period much as the racial ancestors of the stone age did. They string beads as an impulsive activity derived from primitive progenitors. Although there may be a similarity between the activities of primitive man at certain stages of development and the play activities of children, there is no reason for believing there is a causal relation between the two. A better explanation is found in the correspondence of mental development. At a certain age the child may be considered as having reached a stage of complexity of mental life somewhat corresponding to primitive man of a certain period. Consequently his interests are adapted to carrying on activities appropriate to that level of the primitive life when the proper stimulus is provided by the environment.

2. In contrast, the preparatory theory of Groos looks to the future, considering play as the exercise which the child takes so that he may be fitted for the real business of living as an adult. The theory does not assume that the child deliberately engages himself in such activity because he foresees the need, but that there is simply a natural purposive tendency of the organism to

this end. Thus the girl plays with dolls as a preparation for motherhood, and the boy busies himself in construction and in active games as a foundation for the labor of maturity. It is true that the play activities of childhood do serve the purpose of fitting the child better for responsibilities of adult life, but this is purely a by-product which must be considered incidental to natural play and not the end sought by the organism. Play always relates to present needs. The now of the child is real living and not anticipatory of a future period when real living shall commence.

3. The surplus-energy theory regards play as the product of metabolism. The child, in the process of growth, receives more nourishment than he requires for ordinary physical development. The system assimilates all of the energy needed for the purpose from the glandular secretions, and what remains must be worked off in muscular activity. The muscle action itself causes the flow of blood to these centers, and thus makes new demands for nourishment which results in healthy growth. When a child goes to some destination along the road, he does not merely walk; he runs, proceeds by a hop-skip-and-jump, and travels by a very indirect pathway. The child who is undernourished does not ordinarily take part in the highly active games of his fellows. This theory relates of course to certain kinds of play of childhood, and gives no adequate explanation of the many types of quiet play in which children may engage, or the many play activities of the adult.

4. The recreation theory may be considered the opposite of the surplus-energy theory, in that it emphasizes the use and value of play in the building of energy. However active the play form may be, it may make use of centers which have not previously been utilized, and hence gives the muscles which are fatigued an opportunity to rest. Different nerve tracts are used and attention is shifted, with good effect upon the entire organ-

ism. Active play furthermore tends to quicken the heartbeat, deepen the breathing, and stimulate somatic functions, with the result that more nourishment is provided for the entire body, unless play is indulged in to an extreme.

This theory also recognizes the function of relaxation and passivity as special forms of play. Thus one who has been working intensively on a task which has involved great mental concentration for a long period may find real enjoyment and rest in amusement which makes no demand upon his mental energies, or in the mental play of the imagination such as day-dreams.

5. The instinctive theory regards play, as either an original instinctive tendency, a complex of such tendencies, or the natural way in which these tendencies find expression. Not only is it considered that play as such is thus determined; the specific form which play takes is also decided by the instinctive background. Play activities are classified according to the use which is made of spontaneous muscle action, manipulation, curiosity, gregarious tendencies, domination, submission, and the like. McDougall places rivalry as a dominant instinct in play. There is no doubt that rivalry plays a prominent part in much adult as well as child play, but there are many forms of true play in which no such motive is apparent.

A special type of this theory is that sponsored by the psychoanalysts who find the motive for play to be the satisfying of certain instinctive urges which are repressed in the ordinary situations of life. Thus a boy who is dominated by his fellows on the playground, as well as by his teacher in the school and his parents at home will play alone with imaginary playmates. In such play he achieves his desire for mastery, for these fictitious playmates must obey his every whim and desire. An individual finds release from usual inhibitions and controls in day-dreams, or in identifying himself with the heroic characters of novels and dramas.

6. The integrative theory, as the name suggests, would accept none of the theories as wholly satisfying in itself, although recognizing the good points in each and merging them all into a composite explanation. An attempt is made to interpret man as a whole organism, rather than in terms of special functions which he possesses. Play is considered in its dynamic aspects and from social as well as individual points of view. The place of habit is recognized, in so far as it plays a part in determining the play tendency and in shaping its particular expression. That explanation which is true of one age period in a child's development and under certain sets of conditions may not at all fit the facts of other ages and situations. It is possible that a certain play activity engaged in by a particular individual may represent all of the varied interpretations in degree. It may function for the future welfare of the individual, represent a flow of accumulated energy, be a means of recreation, be based upon inherent developmental powers, and be motivated by certain instinctive tendencies, or by the desire to satisfy tendencies which have been repressed. Other factors may enter as well.

PLAY AND HABIT.—The child normally engages in play when the environment provides the stimuli. The tendency may be greatly inhibited, if not altogether repressed, by withdrawing stimuli or by setting up conditions contrary to its expression. The form which play takes is a matter of habit formation, as well as the extent to which it will be carried. Play may become an obsession or mania, even as any other activity, until the individual can tolerate nothing that tends to interfere with spontaneous activities for which he has a state of readiness.

It has been a common observation backed by scientific evidence that the individual learns more readily and easily when the task is made intrinsically interesting so that the learning itself is the fulfilment of a state of readiness. The learner initiates his own activity. He pursues it with greater concentration. One of the most prominent sources of distraction is the desire to do something other than the task in which one is engaged. Fatigue enters the experience very quickly when energy is spent in inhibiting and resisting impulses which tend to interfere with intense concentration. There has been a marked tendency in recent years to place all habit-forming or learning activities on the play level. This may be carried to such an extreme that the learner will never be able to make an adequate adaptation to real work when occasion demands.

Play and Morals.—The strict separation between those who were "religious" and those who were "worldly" has led, at various times in history, to a distinction between "spiritual" and "carnal" pleasures. The Puritanic concept of life tends to regard all play as evil, since it is so closely associated with the practices of immoral and irreligious people. One of the leading denominations issued the following condemnation of play in 1792: "The students shall be indulged with nothing which the world calls 'play.' Let this rule be observed with the strictest nicety; for those who play when they are young, will play when they are old."[1] Fortunately this church group has long since retracted this statement and attitude, although others still persist in it.

It is indeed true that play activity may be carried to extremes and may become definitely immoral, even as any other activity of life. There is no justification for regarding the normal play tendency as intrinsically evil. The moral character of play depends altogether upon incidental factors of guidance and environment. The repression of play and the elimination of play activity, especially for the child, may be regarded as a distinctly unethical procedure, since this prevents the achievement of the many physical and socio-moral values which play provides. The ascetic view, which long obtained, has now given way to a new appreciation of play. Church groups are attempting valiantly to make up for past years of neglect of this field.

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[1] Wood, T. D., and Brownell, C. E., *Source Book in Health and Physical Education* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925), p. 352.

Relaxation is a necessity, and passive play which contributes to this end must be regarded as of value. When it is carried to such a stage as to become habitual idleness, with purposeless expenditure of time, lack of objective, and no mental or physical benefit, it must be regarded as a moral menace. Active play and work are correctives of this tendency, as they provide stimuli to positive self-expression. "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." The child who is busily engaged in play finds no time in which to form loafing or gang habits, or to indulge in forms of evil imaginings. Fatigue which normally follows healthful play activity is a good deterrent and distraction from immoral tendencies.

Play may be used effectively in the building of good moral ideals and habits. Most types of play are social, and it is in this environment that moral values and conduct are best established. The social group will not tolerate cheating or lying in competitive games. Persistence, even in the face of defeat, is encouraged. The type of fairness and justice which is implied in the Golden Rule is given vital significance. Good sportsmanship, which accepts defeat gracefully and without complaint or alibi, is constantly demanded. Selfishness is frowned upon. Even sympathy of the victor for the vanquished and a spirit of good-fellowship may be stimulated under proper guidance. Temperate habits of eating and social life are encouraged, and practically every schoolboy is aware of the fact that tobacco and alcholic liquors mean failure for the trained athlete.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL VALUES OF PLAY.—There are two aspects of play which must be kept in mind; recreation, and relaxation. In some forms one of these dominates, while in others they are coördinate. In relaxation the emphasis is placed upon rest and change, while in recreation it is placed on stimulation and rebuilding. The former is a release from tensions, certain brain centers which have been used and muscles which have been employed being relaxed. Inhibitions which have held tendencies in control are released. Nature has provided sleep, laughter, play, tendencies to activity, and rest from fatigue as means of relaxation. When the work of the body organs is in excess of the powers of repair, or when the natural means of relaxation are neglected, there grows an increased irritability and inefficiency, in which the body parts refuse to function or become abnormal in function. Not only is it true that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy"; they may make him a neurotic. Many who have suffered from nervous prostration, insomnia, or hysteria have learned an expensive lesson on the value of play. The artificial narcotics, such as drugs of various kinds and alcohol, which have only a temporary soothing effect, with a following negative reaction are an inadequate substitute for play. If their use is continued, there is a consequent degeneration of bodily tissues and a definite bad effect on mental conditions.

The type of relaxation made use of will vary with the individual and specific conditions. Music, painting, literature, and similar quiet activities may serve well enough for one engaged all day in physical work, but he who sits at a desk all day manipulating ideas requires some form of physical activity such as the common sports or games, or diversions such as hiking. Fishing and motoring are not highly active in type.

Relaxation through change of activity or rest is essential to effective attention. This is especially true of children in whom the attentive power is not developed. The teacher should realize that the best results from study will be secured if a short period of relaxation intervenes between lessons. The student then attacks the work with renewed attention and vigor. No effective results can be secured if relaxation and work are mixed; in fact, habits of dissipating energy may be set up. A clean-cut period of relaxation following exertion is better. A short period of rest or play after the midday meal or when there is a tendency to dullness may markedly increase the effectiveness of work for the remainder of the day.

Play is a remarkable stimulant to self-expression and inventive imagination. It is through play that the free activity of the child is secured, and his greatest powers called forth. Problems are constantly arising which demand solution, and the problem-solving activities in which children engage during play, either as individuals or as groups, have a distinctly educational value. Responsibilities are placed and assumed in such a way as to stimulate correct attitudes of leadership.

ADAPTATION OF PLAY TO AGE LEVELS AND SEX INTERESTS.—Each major age period is characterized by rather distinct play interests which must be considered in any program of play activities. While there are many individual variations the general trend for each period marks out the objectives and methods that must be kept in mind.

The play of infancy and babyhood is characterized by free, random physical activity, without set rules. Such behavior as running, jumping, talking; experimenting with taste, smell, touch, and manipulation; and curious investigation of anything and everything coming to his attention, is ceaseless during his waking hours. There is a rapid change from one activity to another. Work is practically unknown. Much of the child's play is imitative. His imagination is very active. The majority of his interests are selfish, and a proper curbing and direction to such others. The child should have abundant opportunity to gain tendencies mean much to his future habits of adaptation to muscular coördination, and have a wide variety of sensory experiences. Initiative should not be too greatly hampered by strict supervision. The child should learn to play alone as well as with others, and should not become dependent upon adults for guidance.

Early childhood is marked by a more social type of play, with activities more highly organized. The child must learn to coöperate with others and to control his emotional outbursts. He enjoys collecting materials and participating in constructive work on the play level. Imagination is now more directed to specific ends. Concentration upon one play activity will be continued for a longer time. Slides, tricycles, see-saws, and climbing frames for physical action, and blocks, scissors, paper, paste, crayons and simple puzzles for constructive activity are suitable for children of this period.

During the period of later childhood, organized plays and games take the place of free play. The child begins to act more on his own initiative and takes pleasure in developing and showing skill. He becomes more socially coöperative. Mental powers are strengthened and a growing body of knowledge is mastered. Informational games and those involving skill may be used to advantage. A child may become so interested in reading and in quiet types of play as to neglect adequate physical activity. During this period, habits of play are formed which will remain throughout life. It is a time when attitudes of obedience, honesty, loyalty, and self-control are basically formed, and when the will-power may be strengthened by exercise in making independent decisions in all types of play activity.

Adolescence is a period in which play is very valuable as a means of physical development. Care must be taken to avoid overstrain in violent games, especially during the years of puberty. All-round development, rather than specialization, should be emphasized. It is during this time that group activities should be emphasized and tendencies to anti-social gang membership turned to socially desirable channels. Recreational activities such as hiking and camping in the great out-of-doors are especially beneficial. Active play is a means of working off the intense emotional disturbances of youth, and thus avoiding tendencies to morbidity. Wholesome social intercourse should be encouraged, and ideals of citizenship developed through the organization of civic clubs and debating societies. Early in the period care must be taken to avoid bringing embarrassment to the youth during his "awkward period." The youth enjoys aping the play of adults and insists on being treated with dignity. He can be led, but not forced. Habits and attitudes, as well as ideals, which are developed during this period may remain throughout life.

It has not been many years since the view was commonly held that girls should not indulge in active play. Such conduct would have been considered unladylike and even disgraceful. This ban has passed, with a wholesome result in the physical and social development of girls. The physical structure of girls may prevent them from indulging in the rougher sports such as football, but they gain much benefit from basketball and even baseball, and they are no longer regarded as the "weaker sex." They have entered many types of field and track athletics. Girls of the present day are healthier and stronger than in past centuries.

At every stage of growth the present period always has in it elements which have persisted from the preceding one. A single element which should bind all periods is the play spirit. While play itself may take a different form in the adult than in the child, and in man than in woman, the spirit of freedom which characterizes the play of the child should remain to stimulate and illuminate the work and play activities of the adult.

CRITERIA FOR JUDGING PLAYS AND GAMES.—Detailed recommendations for groups and individuals of various ages and interests cannot be given here. Certain criteria may be set up by which anyone in charge of play activities may judge the values of plays and games in a specific situation.

1. The play should be of such a nature as to appeal to the child as somehow being his own. It must be based upon the instinctive roots and capacities of the child, and be a form of real self-expression.[2]

2. The play should provide the child with wholesome mental and physical exercise which will contribute to his development. It should not be a mere excitation which leaves the child exhausted and with habits of and cravings for more excitement without ministering to his growth.

3. Plays and games should be adapted to age-interests, sex, abilities, and environment of the child.

4. Play activities should be so planned that they keep every child busy most of the time. If turns are taken, they should be rapid enough to prevent any from standing in wait.

5. Play should be self-directive as far as possible, at least after it has been initiated.

6. Participation in the play and games should be followed by satisfaction. Children should be so enthusiastic that they will want to repeat it.

7. The play should be of such a nature as to develop initiative, leadership, coöperation, honesty, and fair-play.

8. The play should give opportunity for the growth of imagination and constructive thinking, as well as make a contribution to actual skill.

9. Activities in this field should tend to the forwarding of interests, not only in themselves, but also in other fields, and should contribute to the building of good work habits.

Organized and Supervised Play.—Early play activities for groups took the form of gymnastic exercises both in the United

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[2] John Dewey, (*Elementary School Record,* June, 1900), pp. 145–149.

States and in Europe. Only select groups were thus reached, the mass of the population being ignored. In the majority of instances these exercises became highly formalized and in reality might be characterized as work rather than play.

Because of the congested conditions of the large cities, play spaces for children as well as adults have become an essential part of city-planning. Since the first playground was established in Boston, in 1885, by the Parmenter Street Mission, in the form of a sand garden, the playground movement has spread very rapidly. Community and recreational centers, bathing beaches, golf links, swimming pools, tennis courts, baseball diamonds, and numerous other opportunities are now provided by enterprising municipalities, although as a rule they are altogether inadequate in number. The Federal Government, the various states, and cities are setting aside large parks as public playgrounds. Churches are making provision as never before to meet the play needs of their communities. Social rooms, gymnasiums, and club rooms are regarded as essential parts of the building, and wherever possible adjacent grounds are secured and set aside for outdoor games. Sport tournaments are planned, and directors of play activities are engaged to organize and conduct games and plays of all kinds.

Such large and widespread provisions for play cannot succeed to the fullest degree in attaining their objectives unless proper supervision is maintained. A playground may become a center of unorganized and even vicious activity, if children are left without any sort of guidance. Supervision is needed primarily as a means of holding up standards and interpreting them to the child. The right kind of supervision uses play tendencies in such a way that they become highly constructive forces in the life of the individual and society.

Wise supervision of play does not force plays or games upon a group, but only suggests the type of activity best suited, and leads the group to make the proper selection. Supervisors sometimes destroy the spontaneity of a group through meddlesome interference and domination. Such a supervisor was once sought by a visitor at a playground. One of the children is said to have directed the stranger thus, "She is down there with that group of older girls. You will know her, because she is the one who is having a good time."

The supervisor should be a specialist in health. It is obvious that strenuous games would be a menace to anyone having weak lungs or heart. Games for those of a certain age should not be prolonged until they cause over-fatigue. Children who are neurotic and over-excitable need special care and consideration. Those who are undernourished or weak should not be brought into intense competition with those who are much stronger. In every way the physical welfare of each child should be considered and the play be made to serve the end of physical development.

The supervisor should be a practical student of education and psychology, especially in so far as these relate to childhood. The age-differences of children in terms of interests and abilities should be known, and play directed to the actual building of good attitudes and habits. Best educational methods should be made use of and basic principles of motivation efficiently applied. On occasion, the supervisor must be a good disciplinarian, if leadership is to be maintained. Tact and coöperation are essential qualities. Both in participation in games and in matters of emotional control, ideals, and moral habits, the supervisor must set an example worthy of imitation.

The ideal supervisor is, furthermore, one who knows and understands the social forces at work in the community. With this background he will be better able to direct the activities so that evil tendencies of individuals and groups will be successfully combated. Homes should be visited and data collected regarding individual cases so that intelligent guidance may be given. Properly supervised, children should develop habits which will make for less idleness, less time spent on the street, and less delinquency. The beneficent results for the individual and society wiil be abundant.

Questions and Exercises

1. Discuss reading as a form of recreation, pointing out the dangers of over-emphasis, its inadequacy from the standpoint of exercise and as a substitute for social activity, its stress upon passive enjoyment rather than creative work, and similar issues.
2. If it be true that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy", what would be your conclusion of the following statement, "all play and no work makes Jack . . ."?
3. Show how unsupervised play may contribute to immoral tendencies.
4. Evaluate the procedure of placing all study upon the play level.
5. Interpret various play activities which you have engaged in, in the light of the different theories.
6. Point out the values of anyone having an avocational interest or "hobby."
7. Discuss the possible outcomes of letting the child knock down structures which have been built of blocks, tear papers and books to pieces, and destroy flowers.
8. Is it wise to provide the child with mechanical toys? What plan would be better?
9. Analyze your neighborhood or community with a view to discovering the adequacy of playgrounds and supervised play activities. Criticize the provisions and procedures where needed and make recommendations for improvement.

10. In a survey of church activities, the query was made, "What is your purpose in promoting play in your community?" Several church leaders replied, "To stimulate and maintain church loyalty." Is this an adequate purpose?

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CHAPTER XXVII

PERSONNEL WORK AND GUIDANCE

That man may safely venture on his way who is so guided that he cannot stray.

SIR WALTER SCOTT

A bitter and perplexed, "What shall I do?" is worse to man than worse necessity.

COLERIDGE

Every man, however wise, needs the advice of some sagacious friend in the affairs of life.

PLAUTUS

WHAT IS IMPLIED BY GUIDANCE.—Wisdom in any field of human knowledge calls for the assumption of responsibility for the education and direction of those who are ignorant. In this sense, all are, or should be, teachers and guides of others, at least in some small phase of life activity. Unless well-organized and planned, such direction as exists must be purely a matter of chance, with advice being given by those who do not have an adequate background. Such guidance is likely to be wrong as often as right. In addition many will be surfeited with guidance while others will be completely neglected.

Guidance, as the term implies, means something other than mere domination. There are many homes in which there is much of aggressive command over the children, but little if any real guidance, in the sense that the children are led to make their own choices on the basis of facts which have been given to them. Education, at least as ordinarily conducted, is not guidance. As a rule it consists of a routine mastery of subject matter under a sort of compulsion, with little human interest in the child's interests and desires, and with but few associations deliberately made between such subject matter and actual life problems.

Guidance implies real friendship. Someone must take a personal interest in the individual, an interest which is impressive for its reality and sincerity. True guidance is coöperative, rather than dictatorial or didactic. It must be directed in such a way as to evidence sympathetic understanding and win confidence. It must strengthen, rather than weaken the power of choice in the individual.

THE NEED FOR GUIDANCE.—The chief objective of all education and training should be the insurance of individual and social efficiency. Each member of society needs much careful advice and guidance if he is to develop to the maximum his potential capacities and abilities and make an adequate adjustment of his needs and desires to the social life. Each individual must be considered on a different basis, and must be studied in all of his relationships to life about him. He must be considered as a personality; a significant unit of the whole great scheme. He must be led to take the right attitudes toward the world of nature and of man. Only as he is adjusted to his physical and social environment can he fit into and help build the community in which he belongs. Without adequate guidance, solving the puzzle of life becomes a mere blind trial and error performance. He who is learning to live must be stimulated and guided to the choice of right methods for basing and rounding out his life in the best possible way to meet his own best objectives and to fill his place in society.

Although the adult may be guided to adaptations on occasion, the formative years of childhood and youth are preëminently the years when guidance is most critical and significant. Attitudes, ideals, and habits are then being determined. Ambitions are taking root and vocational careers are being selected. The child is comparatively ignorant of life, and acquires knowledge of it only gradually through some kind of experience. It is not necessary, as some assert, that a child shall pass through a real experience in order that the lesson coming from it may be real to him. An imaginary experience may be made so vivid that the child will come to sense it as very real. Learning by experience is sometimes very expensive and wasteful, and consequently should often be avoided. Letting a child or youth "sow his wild oats" as a natural cure of evil tendencies is a risky procedure indeed, and one which wise guidance would render unnecessary.

The emotional sensitivity and disturbance which ordinarily characterize the period of adolescence suggest the special value and function of guidance for this period. The average youth, in spite of all of his assumed air of superiority and wisdom, cannot be depended upon to make wise choices, or to establish his life on sound bases without guidance. The responsibility for giving such guidance cannot be denied. Coleridge relates the following incident, "Thelwall thought it very unfair to influence a child's mind by inculcating any opinions before it had come to years of discretion to choose for itself. I showed him my garden, and told him it was my botanical garden. 'How so?' said he; 'it is covered with weeds.' 'O,' I replied, 'that is only because it has not yet come to its age of discretion and choice. The weeds, you see, have taken the liberty to grow, and I thought it unfair in me to prejudice the soil toward roses and strawberries.'" The youth must make decisions upon the basis of a certain background of training. If this is inadequate, as is often the case, careful guidance must be used as a substitute, or supplement. One's future welfare and happiness, as well as his usefulness, usually depend upon choices made during the adolescent period.

Fields of Personnel Service.—Any phase of life may call for guidance. Problems constantly arise in the innumerable relationships of an individual to his world, both physical and social. Counsel is often needed in a great variety of situations. He who is able to secure the greatest amount of facts bearing upon these problems and who is motivated to choices in the light of wise counsel is most certain of satisfactory solutions of the problems, other things being equal. The major fields of guidance are indicated by the commonly accepted "aims of education." Each of these may be briefly discussed from the point of view of a complete guidance program. There is no need for making a comparative evaluation of these aims, with a view to pointing out which are most important or least important. All are necessary in any well-rounded life, and all are integrated. Any form of guidance which places an exclusive emphasis upon any one aspect must be considered incomplete.

HEALTH GUIDANCE

The laying of proper foundations of health cannot be overvalued. The importance of health is seen in the fact that no other objective can be adequately fulfilled without it. The individual must not only be protected and guarded from physical and mental disease and accident; he must be led to the mastery of certain basic knowledges, to take attitudes favorable to health and to acquire good health habits. He must be impressed with the sacred responsibility of keeping his body healthy, and must learn to recognize the moral obligations involved in this task. The child and the youth are in special need of health counseling. The whole field of exercise, sanitation, social diseases, effects of narcotics and opiates, and safety should be made clear to all young people. This means much more than a mere study of textbooks in physiology; it means guidance to actual practise of right habits and intelligent coöperation in a systematic endeavor to apply the principles of good health—prevention rather than cure.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

A basic aim of vocational guidance has to do with the creating of right attitudes toward the world of work and workers. Youths have too common a tendency to show an aversion to productive labor and to hold those who "earn their bread by the sweat of the brow" in contempt. They are in need of a truly democratic point of view which recognizes the dignity and worth of the laborer. They must come to regard work, not as an evil, but as a real blessing to themselves and others. They must be brought to realize the fact so succinctly stated by Carlyle: "We must all work, or steal; howsoe'er we name our stealing."

Another chief aim of vocational guidance is the development of an individual's knowledge and interests so that he may make a wise choice of vocation. Studies show that the majority of people drift aimlessly into their life vocation, without knowledge of it or of its possibilities for them, even without any real interest in it. Some adopt the vocation of their fathers, with no consideration other than imitation. The power of suggestion operates, and it is easier to take this step than to find another vocation which might be more suitable. Others, possibly because of negative suggestibility, select any vocation than that which their fathers have followed. There is a common tendency for parents to determine the work which their children shall follow, sometimes on the basis of compensation for their own errors, sometimes in recognition of the value of the calling, but seldom as a result of a detailed study of each child.

The right kind of guidance should reduce the vast amount of inefficiency and unhappiness which results from occupational misfits. The "round peg in a square hole" is a too frequent tragedy. When one is engaged in an occupation for which he is unfitted, and which he does not recognize as peculiarly his own, he is likely to be dissatisfied, inefficient, and fatigued. Some who are naturally ambitious are located in vocations in which there is no possible advancement, or which is already surfeited with workers. They soon reach a blind alley. Some with fine natural ability for leadership become cogs in a great industrial machine, doing a type of routine work in which their abilities are never given an opportunity to reveal themselves. Others, with little ability may reach positions of responsibility in which they are foredoomed to failure.

The waste which is often evident in the struggles of a youth to find work which he likes could be largely eliminated. Some go from one occupation to another, sampling each, and it may be many years before they settle upon a vocation which is suitable. One who has good general abilities may find his life spent in such futile shifting from vocation to vocation, until he becomes a tramp worker, or a "Jack of all trades and a master of none." Many of the drifters and vagabond failures in the slums and missions of the large cities are those who once had good possibilities but were denied the right kind of guidance. Investigations have indicated that many drift into lives of crime because of the lack of the right vocation.

Any scheme of vocational guidance must plan for certain definite ends and carry on a program which is adapted to these ends. First there must be an adequate study of the individual, his backgrounds, his interests, his abilities and capacities, and his limitations. Special talents or aptitudes are sometimes thus discovered. Intelligence tests may be used to indicate the intellectual level of work in which the individual may hope to find success. A boy with an I. Q. of 90 who cannot master the elements of algebra cannot hope to become a successful electrical engineer, although he might become a fairly skilled worker in the field of electrical machine construction, or applied mechanics. Aptitude tests are being developed which may be used to reveal abilities or lack of abilities. Complete records of each individual should be kept in a cumulative file from early years so that full data are available for judgment.

Another function of guidance is the giving of fullest information possible regarding a large number of occupations, including duties, wages, competition, necessary preparation, chances for success and many other factors. Such material is presented, not only in text form, but also through visits made to places where the actual work is being done, talks by authorities in each of these fields, and participation for a short time at least in certain typical occupations.

Experience has shown that the greatest service that guidance can render is to further the interests of the individual in vocational pursuits and to help him in the process of making necessary adjustments. In no case should it be used to select the vocation for an individual, but only to provide him with an adequate basis of information and attitude so that he may make his own selection. Guidance can do much in the way of indicating which occupation is unsuited for the person, but can do little in the way of stating which occupation is best for him. Self-guidance, intelligently based, is most important in the life of every person. Self-reliance is needed, not only in the first choice, but also in such adjustments as may be made later on. One who is dependent upon the advice of others has been made weaker, not stronger, by the guidance he has received.

GUIDANCE IN THE RIGHT USE OF LEISURE TIME

Guidance which considers only the matter of vocational adjustments is neglecting a major portion of the individual's life; that which he spends apart from actual labor. How he spends this time determines to a great extent both his happiness and usefulness to society. Every person should be led to the adoption of certain avocations as well as vocations. He who has a hobby of music, art, literature, collecting, or what not, in which he can keep delightfully busy during his "idle" moments, is finding a means of relaxation which adds immeasureably to the richness of his life. This may take the form of plays or games, especially for those whose regular occupations are sedentary in type. In any case, the avocation must be considered as much more than just being passively amused, as in habitual attendance at motion picture shows or theatres. It should eliminate real idleness and loafing, from the roots of which spring many antisocial and criminal tendencies.

Guidance in the use of leisure hours should reveal to the individual his special abilities in some avocational field, and develop interests in this field, as well as actual habitual participation in it. The boy who spends his time outside of school either in idleness or in amusement is getting wrong habits fixed which will continue throughout life.

GUIDANCE IN SOCIAL COÖPERATION

One's success and happiness in life often depend upon his ability to get on with his fellows. The self-centered, or egoistic individualist has in store a large number of distressing experiences unless he learns to adapt to others He who is completely altruistic and gullible may find his early idealism and trustfulness to be a delusion, fraught with disastrous consequences. The child's early contacts with his fellows will do much in the way of establishing sound points of view, but there are many who are in need of special guidance. Many, if not all, cases of inferiority complex could be prevented from originating and developing through careful personnel work. The youth should be instructed in the need for coöperation and participation with others, and guided in all competitive relationships. Furthermore he should be given abundant opportunities to coöperate with others under supervision which reveals to what an extent right attitudes are being formed. The interests and abilities of the individual must be considered. Failure may be extremely discouraging to one, while it may act as a stimulating challenge to another. Ideals of social service and coöperation may be fostered, without in any sense neglecting the consideration of facts regarding human nature, and without building a dream world which does not conform to reality.

GUIDANCE IN CITIZENSHIP

He who would build a state through education must see to it that proper civic attitudes and habits are formed in the citizens of to-morrow. An organized state is a highly artificial institution to which the young must be adapted and for which they must be especially prepared. This means much more than a mere study of history and government from text-books. The functions of the state must be brought into vital relationship with the individual, and he must come to regard himself as a responsible agent in the making and in the execution of laws. Actual participation in governmental affairs, visiting with officials, attending meeting of legislatures or town-councils, seeing at first hand the work carried on by local, state, and national government, and coöperation in self-governing bodies are helpful means of providing an adequate basis of information and attitude. Personal conferences with young people are invaluable aids. The function of law and the need for limiting personal liberty for the good of the whole must be made clear. The moral values of good citizenship, and the evils of graft, corruption, and disloyalty must be emphasized in a very real way, so that the individual comes to take pride in being a good citizen, and a true patriot and, *per contra,* to be ashamed of those tendencies in society which are against law and order.

GUIDANCE IN HOME MEMBERSHIP AND PARENTHOOD

One of the greatest lacks in the educational work of our day is found in the failure to give any adequate training for worthy home life. There is a world of informational material and activities in this field which is more significant for the future happiness and welfare of the individual, and more vital to society, than many of the fundamental subjects which are taught. The concept has long obtained that each individual is by nature capable of handling such affairs independently of assistance. This laissez faire policy is doubtless responsible to a great degree for many of the unfortunate outcomes of marriage, including mismating, incompatibility, disloyalty, and the homes broken by divorce.

Those who are undertaking to establish a home should know much regarding the selection and preparation of food; the planning and building of homes; the purchasing, making, repairing, and care of clothing; the furnishing and equipment of a home; home decoration; and the economic administration and care of a home, including budgeting. They should know what part finances play and should realize that many homes break upon the rock of poverty.

Guidance in the more intimate personal relationships of marriage is more difficult because situations are so greatly varied. Nevertheless, young people should be informed of the chief causes of marital failure and be taught in a straight-forward manner how these crises might be avoided. The need for cooperation should be stressed and the importance of avoiding dictatorial attitudes should be emphasized. It must be made clear that married life should not be undertaken merely as a means of getting some value for oneself, but of giving values to the chosen mate, and that this spirit should permeate the entire relationship. Methods of checking and controlling emotional outbursts which tend to destroy confidence and love should be freely discussed.

Ignorance of sex relations and their importance in contributing to a successful married life is undoubtedly responsible for much marital unhappiness. Much may be done in the way of pointing out the natural wholesomeness of such relations under the love impulse, and the dangers that attend merely selfish gratification, inhibition, and over-indulgence, without in any sense destroying the sense of sacredness which should attend all such relations; in fact proper guidance should lead to a general heightening of sacred values. The need for personal loyalty to one's mate in purity of life should be stressed.

It is unfortunate that there is a tendency for young married couples to keep all problems and difficulties to themselves. At no time are they in greater need of wise counsel than during these early years. It is seldom that near relatives are in a position to give such counsel, in fact they may give an added impetus to separation through advice which is partial to one side or the other, or which is not sympathetic. Wise guidance during this period especially and at any time during married life would save many from seeking relief in the divorce court.

There is but little systematic guidance of young people in preparation for parenthood. There should be fewer trial and error procedures in this field of social responsibility. Some receive some basic training, not always correct, in their childhood homes where there are younger children. Others enter upon married life with only the vaguest notions regarding the conception and bearing of children, as well as their nurture and care. The laws of heredity and fundamental principles of eugenics should be considered by all who choose a mate. The having of children should be recognized as a natural and desirable function of married life, not as something which must be avoided. The right of the babe to a pure blood, untainted by social disease should be clear in the mind of every young person. The added economic burden and responsibility that come with children should be made clear, but should serve as an incentive toward more adequate support rather than as a deterrent to child-bearing.

Parents should have been trained in the simple elements of the physical care and home training of the child long before the immediate occasion for application of this knowledge arises. The babe is entitled to more than a mere hit and miss attempt at nurture. Young people should be led to a real sense of responsibility in such matters and prepare themselves for an intelligent parenthood. Those social agencies which assist young untrained mothers in their duties are performing an invaluable service. Those who plan on having children should be trained in practical aspects of child psychology on an equal basis with the teacher. Furthermore they should realize that, while under certain conditions the child may be a binding and unifying element in the home, under other conditions it may contribute to separation. Quarrels often result from conflicting opinion as to discipline and control, as well as from jealous tendencies to exclusive ownership of the child.

GUIDANCE IN CULTURAL APPRECIATIONS

Lives are often lacking in depth and richness because individuals have never been led to a real appreciation of beauties in art, music, literature, and other fine arts or to any adequate estimation of the values in philosophy, history, science, and religion. He is only half educated who has not acquired a taste for these and many other fertile backgrounds of living. Guidance can achieve its purpose, not so much by merely talking about these values, but by actually leading the individual to the experiencing of them and to seeking certain basic satisfactions through them, until permanent habits are established. The personal contact with one who is himself inspired by these fields of appreciation and who is able to inspire others with the same sentiments is of inestimable value.

MISCELLANEOUS FORMS OF GUIDANCE

It is well to keep in mind that none of the above fields of guidance is separable from the others. Life should not be considered in sections, but as a unit. Health is vital to all life activities. Vocational and avocational interests merge with social, civic, and home life and are significant fields of application of appreciations. In the same way, it can be demonstrated that all the fields are interrelated.

Furthermore educational guidance, moral guidance, and religious guidance should permeate all guidance activities. The educational career of the individual should be directed to the achievement of these values in the most economical way. He should be so guided that he comes to sense the moral values and the sacred significance of all human relations and obligations.

Techniques Used in Guidance.—Adequate guidance is a highly involved procedure. One may give random advice, or even partial guidance, without resort to any special techniques, but an efficient and thorough guidance program calls for very special methods of analyses and compilation of data.

THE INTERVIEW

The interview is a much better method of collecting facts than the questionnaire because it is more personal, direct, and intimate. One must be able to secure the coöperation of the reporter so that there shall be the utmost confidence and freedom. An air of unfriendliness may let down barriers of secrecy. The interview may be informal or formal, but in any case one should have in mind a definite list of questions which will draw out the needed information. It is generally better to keep the answers in mind and jot them down immediately following the interview than to write them down at the time, as this procedure tends to make the reporter more cautious and self-conscious. The interview should not be extended over too many questions. In personnel work the interview is used to secure information from the person himself which can be gotten in no other way, as well as a means of checking up on the accuracy of other observations. In guidance of a youth, one may desire to interview the youth himself, his parents, teachers, pastor, employer, or associates, or all of these in turn.

TESTING

One who uses tests of any kind, such as intelligence tests, school subject tests, or special aptitude tests, must be aware of the comparative values of the many different kinds of tests, and also the specific limitations of each of these. He should be thoroughly trained in the method of administering the tests and in the techniques of interpretation. Under no circumstances should conclusions be drawn that are not justified by the tests used. It is well to remember that, while a high standing in any test is indicative of good ability or capacity in that field, a low grade is no absolute proof of the lack of such ability or capacity. Test results should be supplemented by much other data before final conclusions are reached.

CASE STUDIES

The case study is a detailed analysis of the individual and the cumulative record of him covering many points. Although social influences are considered, the study is made primarily to discover the status of the individual and not a social group. The purpose is to reveal the unique characteristics of the individual and the influences that are shaping him, in order that modifications may be made intelligently, and controls set up. For these reasons the method is especially valuable to the guidance counselor. Data collected from many sources and by many methods may be combined in the case study. The study may cover many pages of record for one individual and deal in great detail with such points as: (1) hereditary background, including parental and racial traits; (2) physical condition and history of development; (3) mental and emotional condition, involving abilities and disabilities, and factors which have contributed in the past record of the individual; (4) educational history; (5) present activities and interests; (6) home conditions and status; and (7) social attitudes and contacts. It is recognized that there may be no event in the person's life which does not have some significant bearing upon the particular guidance problems at hand.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERSONNEL WORKER.—There are many who, although untrained, are very skilful in finding their way into the confidence of others. There are some who, even with the best of training, are handicapped by personality traits to such an extent as to unfit them for guidance work. A kind, sympathetic, winsome, yet strong personality is one of the first essentials.

General and specific training is also requisite. He who would undertake the responsibility of guiding others must have a large fund of information at his command in all fields of life, and a correspondingly large vision. He can do his work efficiently only when he has a working command of the involved techniques, and a sound knowledge of sociological and psychological principles. He who undertakes guidance in one field, such as the vocational, must sense the relationship of this field to all other phases of life, and must coördinate his counsels with those of other special advisers. Interpretations must be broadly impartial and scientific, and not based upon a narrow concept of life. One must know how to lead rather than command; to inspire rather than deal in abstractions; to clarify issues rather than add to the confusion.

The counselor and guide should have a deep and abiding sense of the value of such service, as it relates both to the individual and social welfare. He should realize the tremendous waste of human powers that obtains and take seriously indeed his own responsibility in determining human destiny. His best reward will be the consciousness of having contributed to the richness of life, of having redirected abnormal or anti-social tendencies along normal and helpful lines, and of having been a real friend to those in need.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Some complain that the modern plan of universal education is resulting in fixing the interest of youth exclusively upon "white-collar jobs." Is this justified? If so, what will be the outcome, and how may the tendency be overcome?
2. Make clear the need for coöperation of the adviser with the parents. What must be the stand of the counselor if the parents are wrong? What would the age of the child have to do with the problem?
3. From your knowledge of preceding chapters outline the need for caution on the part of the personnel worker in accepting or using the techniques of pseudo-science, such as the reading of character through handwriting, determining vocational abilities through phrenology, and the use of psychoanalysis of the extreme type in diagnosis and treatment.
4. Show all of the various interrelations which may obtain in the various fields of guidance. Under which general head does mental hygiene fall?

5. Cite instances in which guidance has been of help to you or others, and also cases in which lack of guidance proved disastrous.
6. How many advisees can an adviser guide effectively at one time? Indicate the limitations of most guidance programs.
7. Does the normal individual need guidance? Explain.
8. Indicate in specific detail the traits which the counselor must and must not have for best success.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL SERVICE

> To pity distress is but human; to relieve it is Godlike.
>
> HORACE MANN

> Beneficence is a duty; and he who frequently practices it, and sees his benevolent intentions realized, come at length really to love him to whom he has done good.
>
> IMMANUEL KANT

ANY social survey, or even the most casual contact with humanity, reveals an amazing number of those who are in need of at least some special care and attention by their fellow-men. Among these may be noted the orphans, delinquents, feeble-minded, cripples, neurotics, those who are ill, indigents, bereaved, and the social and economic misfits. In addition there are the countless thousands of those who are disappointed in the attainment of some goal, those who meet with problems which they cannot solve, those who do not understand or know how to deal with their own yearnings and desires, participants in broken homes, and those who have become criminals.

Sometimes the whole world is startled into a recognition of the great need in some great crisis which may involve a large national group. Russia is famine-stricken, a plague sweeps China, a flood devastates some river valley, or a tornado brings suffering, loss of life, and privation to thousands in its path.

From an economic point of view many of these cases represent a tremendous waste of human energies and the failure of development in potentialities. From social considerations many of them demonstrate the imperfect character of human society and emphasize the need for social coöperation and solidarity. From a personal viewpoint they comprise a monstrous total of unhappiness and misery and make a special appeal to human compassion, love, and active service.

THE CAUSES OF THESE CONDITIONS.—Many who view instances of human misery draw hasty generalizations as to the causes. One blames the economic system, another the type of governmental control, and yet another the moral and social practices and ideals. Some attribute all suffering to human sin and the working out of penalties fixed by a just God, while others find therein abundant evidence that God does not exist, or that He has no providential oversight of humanity.

One may safely generalize to the extent of saying that such conditions are brought about by Man and Nature. The great natural forces of flood, famine, disease, earthquake, volcano, wind, fire, and lightning have always threatened man's safety, and still continue to do so. These operate by natural laws which are immutable, and the individual who happens in their pathway must suffer the consequences. Evidently some kind of an adaptation must be made to them. There are other forces and laws which are more directly personal. Such are the laws of heredity. An individual who comes into the world with a defective mentality or other physical lack is in the grip of forces which he is powerless to overcome. Moral laws may be most adequately interpreted as natural physical operations. In a very practical way "the law of sin is death," when such sin involves the setting of certain forces in action which lead to the extreme penalty. Persistent breaking of the laws of health may be a form of slow suicide, whether or not the one who violates these laws is doing so intentionally. Ignorance does not excuse one from paying the penalty. One's social relations with his fellows are also thus governed. An unfortunate individual finds himself a failure at middle age, impoverished and isolated, simply because he once made wrong choices, in themselves very simple, or because he has built up habits which are non-social, and which have prevented his proper development to his best potentiality.

Another great enemy of man is his fellow-man. Many are made to suffer who in themselves are innocent of blame, because of the ignorance, thoughtlessness, carelessness, or wilful meanness of others. One individual brings an epidemic of disease which causes much loss of life to a community. Another carelessly tosses away a match which burns a tenement and many of its inmates. Instances might be multiplied. Of other types are the selfish attack upon others and the exploitation of one's fellows. "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." Man's selfish nature is not always held in check by social considerations, or by moral and religious ideals. The "law of survival of the fittest" in modern competitive society leaves many human wrecks strewn along the path. Great corporations, by nature of their machine-like organizations, tend to be ruthless and "soulless" in their dealings with the individual competitor or employee.

Many individuals are caught in the maelstrom of social, economic, and political forces and stand bewildered and helpless in the current, or are swept onward to misfortune. There is no doubt that society itself makes many of its own criminals, indigents, neurotics, and other unfortunate groups, because of lack of foresight and stupid management.

VALUES OF SOCIAL SERVICE.—One cannot survey the field of human need without feeling a strong emotion of sympathy unless he is thoroughly hardened to humanitarian considerations. Mere sympathy corresponds with the wish and is of no value unless translated into conduct, whether it be a verbal expression of sympathy or some act of amelioration.

Social service, when properly conducted, gives the one who receives the service a realization of friendship in the midst of loneliness and in the face of inimical forces. With this alone comes a mental stimulus and cheer which enables one to meet the future with new strength. Such service may take the form of guardianship and protection, which is welcomed as a "haven of rest" until the storms blow over. In the most complete form, social service provides in a practical way the capital for a new start, whether in money, physical vigor, or a fresh point of view and higher ideals. The feelings of gratitude which should normally follow are in themselves a refined emotional experience and one which acts as a bond of fellowship. A new sense of responsibility develops. He who has received help of this nature feels obligated not to disappoint his benefactor; to be worthy of the confidence and trust given.

The giver is benefited as truly as the receiver. He is stirred to new appreciations of human life, the causes of misery, and the status of unfortunates. With this must naturally come a renewed sense of obligation for true benevolence and beneficence. He who gives to those in need, whether in terms of possessions or other personal service, finds his love follows the gift. Love of mankind is a very abstract term and has little of dynamic power until it is translated into some practical and concrete form of service; then it takes on new and significant meaning. He who serves his fellows truly finds real joy in the task. It is a form of creative work which is especially satisfying. Even though the recipient prove unappreciative, the knowledge of practical good done is reward enough.

Society itself depends upon the beneficent acts of its members. One can conceive of an ideal society so systematically organized and perfectly functioning that much if not all of human misery and waste would be prevented and relieved. But in the real society which actually exists, humanitarian agencies must develop spontaneously, and social service must be a free will offering of man to man. Through this means much economic and social waste may be eliminated and much human misery may be controlled. Social life would be immeasurably worse if it were not for the existence of mutual helpfulness among the members of society. That much of this social service is ineffective and that it is inadequate in its total goes without saying.

ATTITUDES INVOLVED IN SOCIAL SERVICE.—The giver may assume certain attitudes which in a very real sense interfere with the most effective outcomes from the service which he renders. He may give as formal fulfilment of duty, but without any true sense of charity or any desire to be helpful. In the same class fall those who merely imitate others and give because it is the socially popular thing to do. They are rewarded by the social approval and have not really given themselves. They are little if at all interested in the outcome of their service. Many of those engaged in charitable undertakings never rid themselves of an air of superiority. They patronize the receiver to the point of insult. If they feel any sympathy at all, it may take the form of pity, and worthy recipients resent pity. Some give needed help, but resent the need for it, and take every opportunity to blame those whom they assist. There is a large group of truly charitable benefactors who are always moved by sentimental considerations. This may cause them to give where help is not really needed, to give more than they properly can afford to give, and especially to give the wrong kind of service, so that the sum total of their work may be harmful rather than helpful.

What is needed in every form of personal service is a spirit of real comradeship, as well as a sound and well-conceived plan. True sympathy is an invaluable portion of every service.

> "Not what we give, but what we share,
> For the gift without the giver is bare;
> Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,
> Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me."

The receiver of service may take or be led to take a variety of attitudes, some of which tend to interfere with the real end which is desired. Some acquire the habitual attitude of dependence. They are moved not at all to self-help, in fact may avoid work, though able to perform it, as long as they are assured that support will be given without it. Those who are ill may continue to simulate illness long after real health has been secured. Those with serious problems never learn to solve their own problems, or make any serious effort to do so, as long as others will do so for them. Charity which stimulates the natural inertia and laziness in individuals has not attained its true object.

Those who take such attitudes are beggars and parasites. There also develops a class of professional beggars, who make beggary a business. Schools for beggars are founded which instruct and train normal individuals how to simulate various crippled conditions, epilepsy, palsy, and even blindness, and thus through "panhandling" to trade profitably upon the sympathy and gullibility of the public. To such an extent is this carried that one is seldom sure that the object of his beneficence is a bona fide case, and many refuse to give thus promiscuously.

Charity may result in the promotion of whining, complaining attitudes. The recipient may find in the one who sympathizes a ready listener to tales of cumulative troubles and statements of hate toward those who are deemed responsible. The narrator takes pleasure in rehearsing the details of his misery. Instead of having his resolution strengthened to play the game of life, he is encouraged to dream of the things that might have been. Any form of charity which degrades the recipient and which fails to strengthen his volitional tendencies is harmful in its effects rather than helpful.

The possibility of fostering such attitudes, in marked contrast to those which are manifestly desirable, points out the risks of charity and indicates the cautions which must be used in planning beneficent acts and putting them into operation. Ruskin long ago declared, "How often it is difficult to be wisely charitable, to do good without multiplying the sources of evil. To give alms is nothing unless you give thought also. A little thought and a little kindness are often worth more than a great deal of money."

Agencies of Social Service.—Among the means by which help may be given, that of personal service has always ranked high, and will probably continue to do so. From the point of view of both giver and receiver, such direct contact is especially helpful. In such a relation true social democracy may operate. In thousands of smaller communities, where social contacts are more informal most of the social service is of this nature. Orphans are adopted, the bereaved are comforted, those who are ill receive flowers and visits, and the poor are cared for by neighbors. Even in larger cities such neighborly activities are not altogether unknown, and one notes frequent instances of real help being given to the inmates of tenements by their neighbors from Park Avenue. Some satisfy their craving for personal service by occasional visits to the "slums," or by doles to the street beggar.

The objection to such personal service is found chiefly in its casual character. Many needy cases are overlooked, and those which are met may be treated in an altogether inadequate manner. The benefactor may have very good intentions, but fail to secure best results because of the adoption of wrong attitudes which have been previously noted.

A form of personal service which is indirect is that given by correspondence. Another of somewhat similar type is the use of "advice columns" of the newspaper or periodical, or spoken advice over the radio. By these methods real aid may often be given within a limited sphere, but always there is the lack of the true facts in detail, or of adequate data on which to base a judgment that is sound. Consequently advice which is thus given without full knowledge of the individual and his circumstances makes for snap judgments which may be wrong in particular cases. He who undertakes to give advice of all kinds to all types of individuals, in great varieties of conditions, must be a veritable Solomon if he is to succeed in meeting the great responsibility which he thus assumes.

This is a day of organizations. It was early recognized that something must be done to supplement the work done through personal service, in order that greater stability and efficiency might result. Therefore organized charities developed in a great variety of forms. It is evident that such an organization, specializing in certain fields, may make investigations of "needy cases" to establish their relative worth, may collect funds for specific objects, and distribute these funds in such a way that they will accomplish the greatest amount of good. They may carry on many types of beneficial activities, not immediately having to do with the giving of money or tangible goods, such as the giving of advice, vocational guidance, distribution of information, visiting, and teaching. They may establish personal contact with the recipients through their workers who may give a real atmosphere of friendship to all their social relations.

The chief objections to organized charity and beneficence are those which are brought against the factory system of production; i. e., the interposition of machines and mechanical processes, in themselves without feeling, between the giver and the receiver. The benefactor never sees the results of his personal gift. Many refuse to give through organizations because of this fact, and also because of the consciousness that a large share of the gift is used in the payment of operating expenses, such as rents and salaries. It would be sound psychology if every such organization could be adequately endowed so that givers could be given assurance that every penny of their offerings would be devoted to the desired end. It would be still better if reports could be made to the giver, showing very specifically what benefaction had been effected by his gift, or if the giver could be given opportunity to specify to what end he desired his gift applied. The organization may thus reduce the soulless, mechanical, routine element to a minimum, and fulfil its obligation to keep alive the real sympathetic interest of the benefactor, without reducing in any sense the efficiency of its work. Some charitable organizations have formed the bad habit of making no report whatever of work accomplished. It is a wonder that they continue to receive adequate support. Contributions are made in blind faith. The influence of these organizations would be greatly extended for good if proper relationships could be established with those who seek to do social service through them. The merging of all funds received in one great mass is democratic, but it represents an abstraction which most individuals do not understand.

The charitable work which is carried on by all organized bodies is amazingly large in its total and in its great variety of forms. It is probable that there is need for greater integration of all these agencies with a view to preventing overlapping, the avoidance of fields of neglect, and securing greater efficiency. Among such agencies may be noted:

SECTARIAN OR RELIGIOUS AGENCIES

- The Church acting through
  - Local committees, societies, and individuals in carrying on community work.
  - Mission Boards, Home and Foreign.
  - Hospitals and Asylums for orphans and the aged.

Men's and Women's Organizations such as the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Y. M. H. A., and K. of C.

The Salvation Army, Volunteers of America, etc.

SECULAR ORGANIZATIONS

The Community Chest in which an annual collection is made on a budget plan to cover all charitable work for the ensuing period.

Political organizations acting through commissions such as those having to do with the poor, or with public health.

The Red Cross, local, national and international in scope, and with activities extended to times of peace as well as war.

Various charity societies.

Charitable foundations, such as the Peabody, Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Russell Sage Foundations for carrying on investigations and conducting educational, medical and other beneficent activities to meet the needs.

Clubs of many types, such as boys' and girls' clubs, professional clubs for relief of members of the profession, business and civic clubs, and women's clubs.

The Scout and Campfire organizations among boys and girls.

Summer camps, "fresh air" funds, tubercular sanitariums, etc..

Fraternal organizations and societies which often make a specialty of relieving distress of any kind among their members, or their families.

Labor organizations and unions.

Benefit performances, such as fêtes, balls, and festivals given by leaders in society, and theatrical or sports shows, the proceeds from which are devoted to benefactions.

A mere listing of such organizations calls to attention the fact that the original religious ideal of service, of "bearing one another's burdens," is thoroughly permeating modern society. It appears that at no previous time in the world's history has there been such ready and ample means of relief for distress of every type.

PREVENTIVE SERVICE.—Someone has said, "There are two kinds of charity; remedial and preventive. The former is often injurious in its tendency; the latter is always beneficial and praiseworthy." The following well-known maxims may be effectively applied to the field of human needs, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," and "A stitch in time saves nine."

Only in recent years has there come to be a general tendency to discover the causes of human need and misery, with a view to the removal of these causes and the prevention of the great flood of waste and unhappiness. Many of the activities of modern civilization are of this type. Much of mere charity has been superficial, and offers only a temporary alleviation. The work which is done this year must be done again the year following, and so on endlessly unless some means are found by which the individuals may be made self-supporting, physically strong, socially amenable, and led to adopt new attitudes. There is a certain proportion of needy cases in which no permanent relief can be afforded, and these must be objects of constant care. There are many others, however, who can be restored to normal and who can be given new outlooks and habits. One of the best services that charitable agencies can perform for certain cases is to take them out of their usual surroundings and give them an altogether new type of environment. Medical and psychiatric treatment are indispensable to others. Appropriate work should be found for the blind and the crippled, rather than permitting them to become beggars and dependents.

Apart from considerations of charity, society is propagating many plans by which it is hoped misfortune may be forestalled. Preventive medicine is conducting investigations and applying its findings to projects which remind one of Gorgas' control of yellow fever in Panama. Scientists are developing techniques whereby storms and even earthquake and volcanic disturbances may be predicted, and people are beginning to plan the building of homes and business houses which will resist earth tremors and hurricanes. Man looks forward hopefully to the prevention of floods through forestation, control of drainage, and the construction of storage reservoirs, levees, and spillways. Movements are under way to eliminate the unsanitary tenements, slums, and dens of vice in the large cities. Plans are being put into operation which will reduce, if not eliminate, panics and unemployment. Free information is being distributed by insurance companies and other agencies, looking to the prevention of accidents and to the prolonging of human life. Children are being provided with nourishing food and healthful exercise under good conditions. Systems of educational, vocational, and personal guidance are giving childhood and youth a better start in the competition of life. Leaders in industry are attempting to give employees improved working and living conditions and to distribute the benefits of industry over wide areas. Grenfells are devoting themselves to the improvement of conditions and the insurance of a greater degree of happiness among a whole people. Public education is reducing illiteracy and introducing the public to wider ranges of human knowledge. It is now seriously undertaking the task of character education. Statesmen are endeavoring to find ways in which war may be eliminated with all of its baleful results. Countless incidents might be cited to show the trend. The general picture is one of rich promise.

The present age is an intensely practical one. There is a tendency to avoid sentimentality, and to get tasks done in a straightforward manner. There is less and less a resort to prayer for those in distress and more and more the assumption of a definite responsibility to do something of a practical nature to relieve their distress. Underneath the gruff exterior, the human heart is as warm and sympathetic as ever. There is a danger that material help, valuable as it may be, may be overemphasized and the more spiritual aspects be neglected.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Trace the development of the humanitarian concept in religion. Has the present ideal of social service and love of mankind always obtained?
2. May blame be effectively used in the administration of social service? Illustrate in such a way as to show its value and cautions in its use.
3. Cite instances of sentimentality in charitable undertakings which have led to harm.
4. What should be the procedure in case the recipient of assistance resents proffers of aid and rejects help because of pride, although in dire need?
5. Show the need for a recognition of the principle of individual differences in charitable work.
6. Tie up some of the thoughts in this chapter with the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians.
7. Cite instances in which forethought would have prevented disaster and distress to individuals or groups.

8. Outline a program by which children may be trained to give and share, and fully to participate in social life.
9. Develop the thought in the last sentence of the chapter.
10. Indicate ways in which philanthropic work may aid in the community of nations, citing instances.
11. Make a critical estimate of social service as carried on in your own community and suggest recommendations for its improvement.

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CHAPTER XXIX

SOCIAL CONTROL AND REFORM

He that has energy enough to root out a vice should go further, and try to plant a virtue in its place; otherwise he will have his labor to renew. A strong soil that has produced weeds may be made to produce wheat.

C. C. COLTON

What lasting progress was ever made in social reformation, except when every step was ensured by appeals to the understanding and the will?

W. MATHEWS

THE FACT OF SOCIAL CONTROL.—It is probable that there has never been a time in the history of mankind when some form of social control has not been used. One or more leaders have always exercised control over others in a very practical and thorough-going way by means of authority or persuasion. The power of a tyrant, a monarch, or oligarchy was measured by the extent to which people were made subservient to the ruling will. Nations control other nations, or attempt to do so, through victory in war. Social groups or classes try to dominate other groups or the masses of mankind. Revolutions, inquisitions, reformations, religious wars, commercial rivalries, and legal battles tell part of the story of such contests.

As the nature of society has changed and its organization has been modified, the types and methods of control have correspondingly altered without affecting in any great degree the essential purposes or nature of such control. The democratic ideal has developed and become more widespread in theory and application, with the result that controlling agencies have become more diffused and hold less absolute power. With the growth of civilization there has been a corresponding increase of complexity in social affairs. While the inherent nature of man has not changed in any appreciable extent, the education of the masses has made new types of control necessary. The introduction of books, newspapers, schools, theatres, motion pictures, radio, and the general improvement in means of communication have greatly increased the facilities for social control and have intensified the competition of various groups for effective leadership.

The types and ranges of social control which now obtain are so greatly varied that it is possible to indicate only a few of the typical ones in important fields. The individual leader, with a new social theory, constructs an organization to promulgate doctrines, and holds mass meetings with the purpose of arousing a united group to put the theory into application. The commercial organization advertises in such a way as to stimulate widespread movements toward investments or purchases. The political party struggles to move public opinion in the direction of support of its platform or candidate, with a view to victory at the polls, sometimes appealing to whole groups for assistance. The charity organization makes drives for funds. Churches, working independently or in union, conduct evangelistic campaigns in attempts to direct the thought and behavior of a community into religious channels. Art and music organizations work through the schools to raise the aesthetic tastes and standards of a city. Laws made by the majority hold in check the activities of minor groups.

THE FUNCTION OF MOTIVES IN SOCIAL CONTROL.—In the first place, those who attempt to gain social control are actuated by motives which are real though intangible. These motives are greatly varied in type. They range from the most egoistic interests to those which are most altruistic and self-sacrificing. One may infer that another individual or a group is moved by a certain dominating interest, but it is ordinarily very difficult to prove such inferences. The basic tendencies for wealth, power, leadership, creation, discovery, self-expression, and many other interests operate in greatly mixed patterns. The outcome of the control may be good in spite of the wrong motives which underlie it and even the best of motives may induce a ruinous type of control.

Another essential factor in social control is the stimulation of motives on the part of individuals and social groups which will be favorable to the desired end. Unless such motives are found or are aroused the cause must fail. It is here that the chief moral implications for society are involved. No end, however worthy, justifies a wrong means. Ethical principles dictate the policy of appeal to highest motives in such a way that those who are controlled shall be raised to a higher plane of living. He who writes a book, publishes a periodical, stages a play, or paints a picture in such a way as to appeal to the morbid, lascivious, and pornographic tendencies of mankind in order that he may gain fame and financial success is acting immorally because he is thereby increasing the habits of thought and act which tend toward immorality in society. The spirit of true sportsmanship in human affairs would refuse to profit by another's weakness. Many find an easy path to success through the prostitution of their ideals and abilities in this way. They should also discover how contemptible such procedure is. The most difficult course of action, and one which calls for the greatest artistry, is the appeal to the higher motives and the development of the most wholesome tendencies in society.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL CONTROL.—Although social control of some type has always existed among men, it is only in recent years that any steps have been taken toward a systematic study of best procedures and that derived principles have been put into application. As the science of psychology has developed and knowledge regarding man's behavior, especially in social relations, has increased, there has come about a more marked tendency to apply the findings of psychology to the many problems of social guidance and control. It is certain that effective direction of social tendencies can be secured only through such applied knowledge. The means and procedures used must be in harmony with basic principles of psychology. He that employs these to the best advantage is most certain of success, while he that ignores them, following blind trial and error procedures, will meet with much discouragement and failure. The facts are available to all. Whether they shall be used for good or evil purposes depends upon the initiative and efficiency of competing groups.

The science of social control can by no means be considered a perfected science. This would imply that absolute prediction of social behavior is possible. Continued study in this field and an analysis of the many complex factors which are involved will make satisfactory prediction a commonplace. Enough is now known to give very valuable leads toward such prognosis and a more adequate adjustment.

THE FACTOR OF READINESS.—Neither individuals nor groups can be induced to modify their behavior until they are brought into a state of readiness. It is well for those who are impulsive and impatient to achieve a certain goal to remember this. Very little can be done in the way of social leadership unless the prospective followers are prepared in some way for it. This period of preparation may require the most exact and intensive effort through long years before it can come to fruition in actual control of opinion and conduct.

Human nature is much the same in all ages, but the "spirit" of one age may be very different from that of another. The "spirit of an age" is a real fact which must be taken into consideration. It is the product of the cumulative forces which act upon mankind and is remarkably impressive for its suggestion of overwhelming irresistibility. One may as well undertake to sweep back the incoming tide with a broom as to change such tendencies in society. A leader may protest the present-day trend toward commercialism, scientific thought, and individualistic expression, and set up quite contrary ideals, but find his efforts to reorganize society along these lines to be absolutely futile. A much wiser plan would be to adapt himself to these potent movements and, acting within their scope of influence, direct the ideals, thought, and conduct of men, as best he can, to the right application of the tendencies.

None of the great reformations of society which have been attempted has been successful except when "the times were right." The gospel of Jesus was indeed "good news" to a people who had long been oppressed and hungry for life values which had been denied them. The great reformations of Luther and Loyola were the natural outcomes of centuries of growing protest against the excesses of dogmatism, absolutism, and spiritual lethargy which prevailed. Violent outbursts, such as the French Revolution, occur when readiness has reached a state of extreme tension and all inhibitions are suddenly released. Wise leadership of social groups would foresee the outcomes and prevent the accumulation of such tensions.

EDUCATION AS A MEANS OF GAINING SOCIAL CONTROL.—Even where the spirit of the people may be antagonistic to innovation, it is possible to educate and lead social groups through a long period to a favorable state of readiness. There was no strong anti-slavery sentiment in the United States before 1840. The work of novelists such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, of poets such as Whittier, and of impassioned orators such as

Phillips Brooks, and also the activities of organized societies, eventually stirred public feeling to its depths. More than the activities of the Prohibition Party, it was the far-sighted leadership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union which brought about the overthrow of the liquor interests. This society put into operation a systematic plan of education of the young regarding the evils of the liquor traffic and the drinking of alcoholic beverages which worked toward the arousal of public sentiment in the generation yet to come.

Propaganda is the name given to those efforts to circulate information and to incite attitudes which will favor the development of certain widespread points of view. In one sense all publicity and educational work which is concerned with bringing society to a certain goal may be considered propaganda. Some of the worst forms of it have been so emphasized as to induce a common view of it as an unfair invasion and misuse of social agencies to secure the desired end. As a result there has come about a reaction against propaganda, a suspicion of all such movements, and definite attempts to check them. The public school is a natural and logical center for activities along the line of generating sentiment, but so many agencies have attempted to use the schools for their particular purposes as to become an actual menace to a real educational program. To the extent that direct propaganda will not be tolerated, and that it results in negative rather than positive attitudes, it must take an indirect form. It requires true artistry to educate the public in a definite field, and to lead them to a certain point of view through the agency of motion pictures, newspaper, or radio without arousing suspicion and resentment. This is being done, however, in a very skilful manner.

Society of the present day is so complex, the agencies so manifold, and the causes so great in number, that it is increasingly difficult to make one voice distinctly heard among the multitude of voices. It is evident that he who speaks the loudest, longest, most convincingly, and through the greatest number of agencies will make the greatest impression upon social life. Religious institutions have neglected to carry on any adequate program of publicity regarding religion. Commercial products and activities are given widest publicity through every available agency, but one seldom if ever sees any advertising devoted to the field of religion. Large sums could be spent to great advantage for social welfare in advertising religion in newspapers, periodicals, street cars, bill boards, and any other available means. This should not be of such a nature as to stress merely local interests or denominational causes alone, but should be so planned as to arouse an interest in and a desire for the values which religious living can give. Such efforts as are made along this line are altogether too casual to produce any widespread effect. Church buildings are closed during most of the week, and weekly notices of church services, reports of sermons, and similar publicity undertakings are altogether inadequate to influence social attitude to any appreciable extent. With a genuine interest in mankind at heart, all denominations should unite in a program of publicity of religion which would make the social conscience more sensitive and more responsive to the religious appeal.

A common error is made in stopping the educational activities once a goal has been attained. The only assurance that a good program of social conduct will be continued can be found in a ceaseless educational program. After prohibition of liquor was secured, leaders of the movement rested upon their oars and turned the work of enforcing prohibition over to the law, on the assumption that the cause would move forward satisfactorily. At last they have begun to realize that the educational program must be revived and given new potency if the entire movement is not to prove an anti-climax. Only in this way can a state of readiness for full execution of the law be developed. As long as a social evil such as the liquor traffic, or prostitution, obtains, it is in itself a strong educative agent in developing an appreciation of its own evils. After it has ceased, and its flagrant abominations are no longer evident, individuals gradually lose sight of its evil character and may drift back into a neutral attitude. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" in all social as well as political affairs.

Education and propaganda directed in the interest of any cause is primarily a personal affair. Individuals must be reached in large enough numbers, however, so that a united social sentiment may be aroused and given form in some sort of a mass movement, if the cause is to succeed. Let a project become popular enough and there will be a general movement toward it of all those who favor it, but who would otherwise hold back because they are not naturally aggressive. In this sense, it is true that "to him that hath shall be given." Those who struggle through long years, in obscurity and adversity, even assailed by their fellows, but with a majestic faith, to lay the foundations of the cause; these bear the chief burden and are deserving of the chief credit for success.

Law and Social Control.—There are many whose first resort, in determining social trends, is to the law. They have a profound faith in the law as an agent of social control. As a result laws regarding the minutiæ of social life are piled upon the statute books in confusing and innumerable masses. Law-making bodies in city, state, and nation feel it necessary to keep busy, and so the legal provisions accumulate until they defeat their own purpose. There is no doubt that many of these are essential and good, but there are many others which are neither significant nor worthy of consideration.

There are many factors which tend to interfere with law enforcement. As a primary consideration, executive and judicial forces are inadequate to enforce all of the laws that are on the books. A parent who states a command to a child and fixes a penalty, but who fails to apply the threatened punishment when an act of disobedience follows is creating in the child a disrespect for parental control. It would have been much better if the order had not been issued or the penalty noted. In the same way, individuals acquire a disrespect for law, and its effectiveness in social control is generally voided. Spasmodic attempts to enforce a law, by periodic or irregular raids or arrests, have but little effect. Only those laws should be made for which some adequate provision for enforcement can be made, and these should be rigidly executed.

The law itself is subject to such varied interpretations in the courts and in the hands of attorneys, and the machinery of justice is so hampered by technicalities as to render it to a great extent ineffective. Provisions which were originally designed for the protection of society are often so badly twisted in interpretation as to render protection to the law-breaker. He who has ample funds to pay for expert legal service may continue anti-social and even illegal activities with little fear of social justice. Needless to say such facts further contribute to a general disrespect for law.

In the days of autocratic and absolute power, or in countries which still retain such forms of government, a law was not derived from the governed. In all democracies the assumption is made that all will be freely and fully governed by the will of the majority or by their regularly appointed agents. As a matter of fact, those who resent the imposition of a law as a restriction of personal freedom, and those who do not have right attitudes of civic coöperation, will disobey the law with impunity as far as possible and will do everything possible to nullify the law and its operation. So far as it is feasible to do so, popular opinion should be educated to the acceptance of the majority will in any matter of law before the law is passed and such attitudes should be constantly stimulated after the law is in force. In the majority of cases reasoning and persuasion will be more effective to this end than mere threats and show of power.

One may idealize as much as he desires regarding the beneficent effects of law and its value in social control, but the sad fact remains that graft, bribery, and corruption continue to interfere with legal processes to an alarming degree. There are few communities in which the arm of justice is not paralyzed to some extent by such means. There are many public officials with an unswerving loyalty and integrity, but the problem of insuring such characteristics in all officials is not yet solved. It is certain that high honor should be attached to one who fulfils his trust, and that dishonor as well as just punishment should uniformly be attached to one who is a traitor to his state and to the public interest. The general practice of leniency toward those who have betrayed their trust has already borne its fruit, a fruit which is neither palatable nor nourishing to society.

The punishment which law provides should be made to fit the crime. The purpose of punishment is to associate unpleasantness with wrong conduct, and to make such conduct unprofitable and unattractive. The one who carries on a prosperous bootlegging business, netting thousands of dollars a month, is neither discouraged nor deterred by the imposition of petty fines of a few hundred dollars. He who grafts from the public purse to the extent of a million dollars should not be given a smaller punishment than the man who steals a loaf of bread to feed his starving children. The record of such decisions increases disrespect for law and a definite sense of injustice. While justice should be "blind" to persons involved, it should not be blind to all the facts involved, nor to the basic psychological principles which should govern all decisions.

Law itself may be and usually is an educative force when properly developed and administered. Society gradually becomes aware of its beneficent effects or of its faults. Those who once opposed a law gradually become adjusted to it as time passes and often become enthusiastic supporters. Efforts should be made to interpret officers and courts of law as friends of man. Many who have had neither the desire nor the real blame for committing offense are in need of kindly advice and sympathetic guidance. At the same time, society must be clearly shown that those who are real enemies of the common welfare can expect no sentimental amelioration of real justice if they continue to offend.

CENSORSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTROL.—In a despotism censorship is no problem. In a democracy, however, it provokes many aggravating problems, and is itself a problem, for minds are greatly divided as to the extent to which it should be used; in fact, as to whether it should be used at all. The chief matters of concern in censorship are the products of creative work and thought, especially literature, art, the drama, motion pictures, and radio programs. Its purpose is to restrict such productions in such a way that they will be in harmony with the ideals and standards which are commonly accepted. A democratic government assures to the governed the utmost freedom of speech and expression, and many regard any attempt to restrict expression as tyrannical, undemocratic, and unjust. As a matter of fact, no one can be allowed freedom to behave in any way which will cause harm to the state, or which will result in the general lowering of standards of mental and moral life within the state. The supremacy of the majority must be recognized here as elsewhere, otherwise democracy cannot succeed.

There are two commonly recognized forms of censorship: that which is spontaneous within society, voluntarily undertaken, and informally executed; and that which is formally demanded and enforced through legal procedures. The former is seldom successful because it rests upon intangibles, depends upon personal interpretations, and exists only by the exercise of honest good will. Even though some may enter into such a social contract with the best of intent and result, others are free to violate it whenever and in whatever respects they please. Motion picture producers have not as yet succeeded in cleaning their own house satisfactorily by this method, even though they have made many promises to do so.

Censorship through legal enactment is difficult to secure because it is a long hard road to gain the interest of the public and to crystallize public opinion. The mass of the people is not keenly sensitive to moral values, especially when highly immoral influences are presented in an artistic and otherwise appealing setting. The majority do not think in abstractions, and the potential immoral effect of a motion picture upon the mind of a child is a highly abstract concept. Many secretly enjoy the thrill of thus partaking of forbidden fruit and refuse to admit the possible evil effect in their own lives or the lives of others. Many who recognize the evil influence of a production hesitate to take sides in the controversy and, being by nature peaceful, remain neutral until they are certain that the side of reform is the popular movement. Vested commercial interests present obstacles to control which are most difficult to overcome. They have the money to expend for publicity which the reformer seldom can match. They can establish means of protection and promotion which cannot be broken down easily.

Granted that censorship in any field may be established, whether of a local or national type, the machinery for enforcement must be set up. There must always be one or more individuals who are the final arbiters as to what production shall be censored. There is a general distrust of the competence of such a board of censors to determine moral values for an entire people and even a fear that they might use their powers for purely personal or political ends. These objections offer no insuperable obstacle, however, for it would be possible to secure a jury which would be as expert, as impartial, and scientific as the Supreme Court, and as worthy of respect as are the members of this Court. Censors are not always carefully selected, and their judgments are so unwise and so partial as to bring discredit upon the whole movement for censorship.

Some producers who oppose censorship argue that such restriction would deaden and even eliminate creative expression which depends for its very life upon breathing the air of freedom. They point to the work of great creative artists of the past, such as Shakespeare, and declare that censorship would have denied us the rich heritage of culture which has come to us from such sources. In reply one may note that there was nothing which was strictly immoral in the works of Shakespeare or any other great artist which could not have been omitted without in any way having a deleterious effect upon his productions. Many are great, not because of the immoralities which they wove into their productions, but in spite of them. Truer and greater artistry is demanded in producing a work which meets high moral standards than in appealing to the sensuous and the vile in human nature.

Under the guise of artistic expression and free activity which is commonly accepted, producers indulge in nastiness freely for the sake of nastiness and for the sake of the money which stuff of this nature insures. Many instances might be cited. In the following quotation from an advertisement for a book, the reader is left to judge to what an extent the publisher is interested in spreading culture or in fattening his purse through exploiting the natural primitive tendencies which civilization has been so long reshaping to its purposes:

AT LAST

CENSORSHIP NO LONGER DENIES YOU THIS THRILL OF THRILLS

"You'll never know life until you've read this greatest of all forbidden books! You'll never know how utterly stark and vivid a picture of human passions can be painted in words until you've feasted on the most fascinating tales from the greatest of all once forbidden books . . . it has long been a storm-center of fierce controversy and even persecution. Critics . . . have acclaimed it with unstinted praise for its sparkling vividness and subject matter—while prudish zealots and tyrannical reformers, aghast at the utter frankness with which ——— exposed human life and love, resorted to every possible means to keep this masterpiece from general circulation. . . . But all that was yesterday. To-day the thrill . . . is no longer denied you. This is the age of *reason*."

A common argument and excuse of the producers is given in the statement, "We are forced to give the public what it wants." In this confession they admit the questionable nature of their productions, but refuse to recognize their own responsibility for cultivating or guiding public taste. Some even go to the other extreme of catering to and fostering the appetite for the morbid and the vicious. A great share of the public is composed of children and young people, as well as adults of mediocre intelligence, who are hardly competent to judge wisely and select only those elements of life which are best for them. They are in need of friendly guidance and protection. One can hardly be excused for selling opiated candy to children on the basis that children like it. His activities in this line should be summarily stopped.

Producers argue for the necessity of portraying reality, of giving a frank exposure of life as it is actually lived. Under this plan they then proceed to select the abnormal and immoral aspects of certain lives and compress them into one production, until the consumer gains the impression that all of life is sex, or sex-perversion, or some other noxious compound, rather than a clean and wholesome thing.

It is rather remarkable that society builds its churches, its schools, and its courts for the purpose of emphasizing the development of right attitudes and habits and ideals, and then tolerates the existence of those widespread influences, under the guise of culture and amusement, which tend to tear down the work of these institutions. Building with one hand, it demolishes with the other. Books and motion pictures which would not be tolerated in the public schools are consumed freely by children outside of the school with no thought of protest on the part of parents.

Censorship may not be the best way to gain the desired end, but there appears to be no substitute for effective control. It is evident that the public cannot be educated to a point where a universal boycott against unworthy productions can be exercised, at least within a generation. Newspapers are generally antagonistic to censorship and freely use their great influence to this end, although many of the newspapers are the greatest offenders of public decency. This stand would not be so bad if the newspapers which hold and practice high ideals would wholeheartedly undertake the task of educating public taste. In the meantime, before public opinion can be formed, and with no restriction through censorship, society faces the dreary prospect of years of unfettered freedom on the part of those who consider not at all the advancement of the moral ideals of social life. He that steals the public purse is called a criminal, but he that steals the good name and the character of a nation, making it "poor indeed," goes unpunished and free because he steals the values which are intangible.

Hope for the future in this problem lies in the possibility of a general revolt which may come through the mounting satiety and disgust of a populace which is sound at heart. There should be an acceptance of the challenge of the producers who attempt to place the blame for their activities on the public taste as shown at the bookstore and the box-office. All who are sensitive to moral values should boycott the unworthy productions and give their support to those which are worthy of support and encourage others to do likewise. In certain ways one may envy the summary way in which censorship of immoral productions has been declared in Japan, Italy, Turkey, and many other countries. It places an effective ban. If censorship can be avoided, it is well to do so. If the nuisance continues, the sooner that an effective censorship is executed, the better it will be for social welfare. It is possible that a well-organized threat in this direction will be sufficient, but as yet such a threat is empty, and therefore valueless.

THE REFORMER.—He who would work a reformation in society has a thankless task, at least in his own generation. Some future day may recognize the values which he has achieved if he is successful, and may appreciate his heroic self-sacrifice and integrity. The reformer is necessary in social life even as conscience, repentance, doctors, and counselors are essentially helpful in the individual life. His task is to point out the right and wrong ways, to warn of coming dangers along a certain pathway, to arouse public sentiment, to effect healthful changes in the social order, and to give sound advice and guidance.

In an ideal society reform would not be necessary, for no wrong steps would be taken. Prevention would be considered more important than cure, and social leaders would foresee the outcomes of certain lines of action and act accordingly in the interest of the public welfare. But actual life is as yet to a large extent a trial and error procedure, and the reformer may be of great service in eliminating the waste due to such error. The reformer should more and more pay attention to the task of laying proper preventive foundations in anticipation of the future, rather than always to be patching up the structure builded upon insecure foundations, but even in that task his work is indispensable.

The reformer must be one who has genuine convictions, based upon a sound knowledge of social science and psychology. Too many of those who struggle for reform are concerned with narrow issues and personal interpretations which are of no real or vital significance for the entire social body. Many work for the attainment of the impossible, with little or no consideration of the magnitude of social trends. The best reformer is he who has large vision, yet gives such a vision definite concrete form in the setting of specific attainable goals, and sees clearly the pathway to successful achievement of these goals.

He is most successful in reform who has a genius for organization and administration. A single voice, no matter how clear and strong, may pass unnoticed, but when this voice has swelled into a multitude of voices, all declaring the same theme in unison, their message cannot be ignored. He who initiates a movement may find it advisable to hand over his leadership to another who is better able to organize, advertise, dramatize, and finance it.

This is a factual age and one which stresses rational analysis. The reformer must base his arguments and pleadings upon a sound basis of fact if he would expect a favorable response. He must deal in concrete specific cases, rather than in terms of vague generalities. He may have to spend years in accumulating data which justify his assertions before presenting his cause to the public. The effort will be well repaid. Arguments must be made chiefly in terms of those things in which society as a whole places value; practical as well as ideal.

In the terminology of James, the reformer must be "toughminded." He must be ready to endure discouragement, loneliness, conflicts, and even persecution, and to attack without flinching or deviating from his purpose. Persistence is essential, for it is seldom that any worthy cause is won "in a day." He must expect to be called a fanatic, a radical, a crank, a narrow-minded bigot, or other term of derision. Unfortunately, reformers sometimes become very aggressive and bitter, and these characteristics often interfere with their highest usefulness. They should take nothing personally, but should recognize that they are playing a "high chess game" with their opponents with the stakes set at human happiness. They should be adaptable; on occasion deadly serious, denunciatory, coldly logical, emotionally sympathetic, humanly jovial, but throughout all activities they should be impressive for their sincerity and their real love for mankind, for this is the greatest single attractive force in all leadership. Negative emphasis may be used when necessary, but as a rule the positive should predominate. Quiet reform which works by the natural process of evolution and growth is more effective in the long run than sudden revolution, even though it is less dramatic.

The adolescent has natural tendencies toward reform. At a certain age he may find almost everything wrong with the world, in fact may be very hypercritical. Lacking richness of experience, vision, and trained judgment, he may undertake reform of the most fantastic kind with the greatest show of energy, only to meet with ignominious defeat. There is special need for guidance in this aspect of youth.

Questions and Exercises

1. Give illustrations of wrong motive leading to good social results, and also the reverse.
2. Cite specific types of social control which are extant other

than those noted in the text. Note particularly any kinds of social control which you are interested in forwarding.

3. Analyze some of the motives which have led you to subject yourself to another's control, as in answering an advertisement. Cite instances where groups have been controlled to a certain end, as under the influence of an orator.
4. Write a paragraph on The Need for Social Control, keeping in mind the factors which make for an imperfect society.
5. Expand upon the topic, Preventive Control vs. Reform.
6. What is the psychology back of the statement, "In union there is strength"?
7. Discuss the work of a minister as a reformer; a teacher.
8. Analyze prominent commercial advertisements and compare these with religious advertisements. Which is superior for the control of attention?
9. Name some of the organizations which have been effective in social control in your community. Which have exercised a beneficent influence and which have not?
10. In the recent stress on the socialization of the church some fear that the individual will be lost sight of and will drift away from religious ideals. They believe the best way to social control is through the salvation of the individual. Discuss this issue.
11. Summarize the arguments for and against propaganda and censorship and see if you can add others.

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CHAPTER XXX

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Every great man exhibits the talent of organization or construction, whether it be in a poem, a philosophical system, a policy, or a strategy. And without method there is no organization or construction.
BULWER LYTTON

Every great and commanding movement in the annals of the world is the triumph of enthusiasm. Nothing great was ever achieved without it.
R. W. EMERSON

THE PLACE OF ORGANIZATION.—Good organization is as essential in the conduct of individual or social affairs as logic is necessary to thought. In fact, organization is logic. It makes for an orderly arrangement of functions, duties, and privileges, and fixes definite responsibility for the performance of these duties. It makes possible the presentation of a united front and a concentrated effort to the world. That movement or cause which is not organized lacks coherence and impressiveness, giving the impression that those who are connected with it are working in isolation and without any unified vision or objective.

Commercial interests have found organization vital to their growth, especially in an intensely competitive world. This has been the path of enlarged service and economy. Agencies of social and religious work must follow the lead of business. In many of their aspects they must be considered as business agencies. They collect money from their patrons or the general public; they employ this money in the payment of wages and other incidental overhead expenses, or in capital outlay for buildings and equipment; and return to society their peculiar kind of service. Any failure to return an adequate service, or any waste of money in the entire transaction must be regarded as unethical. An organization which makes for greatest efficiency is demanded. The fact that an agency is dealing in intangible values does not lessen the need for strict accounting in terms of largest and best service.

It is possible for any institution to be "organized to death." In other words, so much time and attention may be spent on the mechanics of operation that the organization becomes an end rather than a means and thus defeats the purpose of service. Any social group or agency may become self-centered or introversive, even as any individual, and thus lose a healthy outlook upon activity.

DEMOCRACY AND ORGANIZATION.—A major problem in organization is the placement of authority. The world has witnessed a tremendous growth in the ideal of democracy and a corresponding increase in the practice of democracy. The trend of government has been away from absolute monarchy and toward some form of political organization in which each citizen is given some voice in determining policies and selecting officers. The same movement has been taking place in the commercial world. It would appear that social and religious agencies must follow the same pathway if they are to be properly adapted to the spirit of the times and attain their largest usefulness.

There is a certain value in the placement of absolute authority in one individual or group of individuals. There is at least a definite source of power, a ready determination of policy, and a quick execution of any line of action thus decided, thereby eliminating the waste due to representation and reference to the decisions of individuals who make up the group. No better form of control has been devised than a benevolent despotism, in case it is certain that the despot is both wise and benevolent. The people are more and more demanding that they be given the right to decide, either directly or through their agents, as to the fitness of those who shall direct their institutions. It is fairly certain that social agencies must adapt themselves as much as possible to this demand or lose their prestige with a great share of those whose support they desire.

The advantages of absolute control can be gotten through a definite centralization of power in those who are periodically elected, or reëlected, on the basis of efficient service, and the delegation of responsibility for the carrying out of specific policies which are broadly determined by the members of the group. Any institution gains immeasurably when those who compose it feel that they have some share in the creation of it and in the creative work which it carries on. Some agencies which have practically ceased to function while operating under traditional autocratic forms of control could be revived and be made effective through a reformation in terms of democratic organization. Even where the absolute type of domination cannot be changed, at least in its major aspects, some form of referendum may be used in matters of policy in such a way as to give new confidence and interest on the part of those who are thus called upon to share in the work of the institution. The social organization which can get on without the active assistance of those who compose it can hardly hope to hold their interest to the full, or to depend upon their unswerving loyalty.

THE SELECTION OF PERSONNEL.—The efficiency of any organization depends to a very great extent upon the work of those who are active in its service. This service must be measured in terms of amount and quality. The social or religious agency which employs incompetent help is thereby not only contributing to waste, but also hindering its own growth.

The trend in the selection of leaders and other workers has been toward the setting of definite standards and the choice of those who meet these standards acceptably. In the field of commerce and industry there has been an increasing emphasis upon wise and careful selection of employees, with a view to locating them in positions for which they are best fitted. As a result there has been a marked increase in efficiency, a more general contentment of those who are engaged, and great decrease in labor "turn-over." The work in education has been protected from low standards by definite regulations governing the appointment of teachers. Even in political affairs there is a growing conviction that those who are to be given public office must have certain special qualifications which fit them for the position.

The work in religious and social service has been greatly handicapped by the existence of a traditional concept that the best and only qualification needed for employment in these fields is the willing desire to engage in them. It has been commonly felt that the "call to preach" or otherwise to perform social service offered a divine sanction which was in itself sufficient test and proof of fitness for the task. It is now clearly evident that the desire to work in a certain field is no adequate guarantee of competence, in fact, that many inefficient workers have been secured on this basis. However, one should never disregard the value of readiness as one of the fundamentally desirable features in vocational choice. Other things being equal, he who undertakes an occupation with a primary interest in it is best assured of successful service. But desire itself is not simple. Motives are greatly mixed. The attitude may be purely negative, in the sense that the worker drifts into the activity after failure in other occupations and seizes upon it as the lesser of evils. He may value the promised ease of the position, as he conceives it, or be impressed by the dignity and honors which attach to it. His desire may be the outgrowth of a sudden emotional urge which has no stable basis. The individual is, as a rule, incapable of analyzing his own motives, and may consider himself throughout to be acting from single, high motives, even when he is dominated by a variety of selfish interests.

Granting, however, that he who seeks employment in religious or social work is activated by a sincere interest to give his fullest service in the attainment of the goals desired, much should also be known regarding his general and specific abilities to perform the work. On the basis of such knowledge, he should be assigned to that particular type of work in the field for which he is best fitted. This principle was recognized by St. Paul who wrote, "Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation. . . ."[1] In ministerial work it has generally been a mistake to place a beginner in full and responsible charge of all of the activities of a church without due regard to his ability to carry on all of these activities. One who has never been interested in or trained in financial matters, or who has no natural gifts in this line, cannot be expected to handle these essential phases of religious work in an intelligent and efficient manner. If he bungles his work in the collection of funds, or in the building of a church edifice, for example, he may be regarded, henceforth, as a poor minister, when in reality he has most excellent abilities in other important phases of his work, such as preaching or visitation. Real economy should dictate a conservation of human energy in proper placement.

Personality traits must be considered as items of ability or fitness to carry on a particular task. One who may excel in the administrative or clerical duties of social work may be altogether unfitted by personal characteristics for personnel guidance. Some are engaged in the task of counselling young people with regard to serious crises in their lives, but are destined to meet with little if any success, because they find it impossible to establish a rapport with their advisees. A wide gulf is fixed between them. The adviser cannot be considered at fault in many cases; he is merely undertaking a task for which he is not personally fitted. Because one succeeds as a writer or teacher there is no reason for believing he is thereby fitted for public speaking. Only rarely does one encounter an individual who is equally gifted and adaptable in a variety of fields.

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[1] Romans XII, 6-8.

THE TRAINING OF WORKERS.—Education and training, especially that which is directed toward a specific end, will do much toward supplementing a person's natural abilities. It will also be a means of giving those with poor natural abilities some command in the special field, as well as a means of providing for the development of interests and self-knowledge. He who would lead others in an intellectual age must be equipped to meet them upon their intellectual level. Furthermore, he must be acquainted with the latest findings of fact and best methods in his special field of work. There has been a wholesome tendency toward a better general educational training of those engaged in all types of religious and social work, and also a more thorough vocational training and guidance.

Experience is a good teacher, but it is very wasteful. The accumulated experience of those who have been engaged in the work for a long period should be so used as to reduce the trial and error element in the efforts of the beginner. Such experience should be taken out of its theoretical setting and be made to function in a practical guidance program. Students in theological seminaries often take pastorates in the neighborhood, and the assumption is commonly made that such practical work will not only emphasize the points brought out in the classroom discussions and lectures, but will also serve as a means of developing right habits. Unless such practice is adequately supervised, however, there can be no assurance that it is helpful. The student may build up one set of associations in the college and an altogether separate set of associations in the pastorate, with little or no "carry-over" from the first to the second. He who is preparing for social work should, coördinately with his educational program, be actively engaged in various types of social service with a view to the development of interests and the discovery of special abilities. If a particular aspect of the work is decided upon, it should be taught in a practical way and with careful guidance so that right habits and attitudes may be assured.

Any adequate educational program must be based upon a thorough job analysis in which the specific tasks and duties of the position are made clear. Many young ministers undertake their work with only the vaguest notions as to the specific responsibilities which they must shoulder and with practically no control over the basic techniques which are essential to effective service. The fault often lies with defective training, for the institutions which they have attended have had no adequate concept of such detailed analysis. Any such college which gives training alone in matters of doctrine and interpretations of Scriptures is neglecting many important aspects which should be considered essential. He who has taken a thorough course of training for the ministry should have a very definite mastery of economical methods of organizing and conducting his many varied duties; otherwise his work may become chaotic and lack proper direction. The work of those who are engaged in social service should be similarly interpreted. Specific training in financial aspects, administration, supervision, personnel guidance, social surveys, and various research techniques should be given. Research will play a large part in the future developments in this field and he who has a mastery of such techniques as case study, interview, questionnaire, mental testing, direct observation, experimentation, tabulating data, graphic representation, statistical computation and interpretation, as well as the writing of good reports, will have a decided advantage over those who merely possess a general training.

In addition to scholastic training there are many other valuable aids to preparation. Training in service is one of the most significant. Those who have never had the opportunity for an adequate schooling may be greatly benefitted by such training administered as a part of a positive supervisory program. Those who have had the best scholastic advantages should never gain the impression that they are in need of no more training after graduation. They should consider their training but just begun and should welcome any additional help that may be given, in fact, seek such assistance at every opportunity throughout life. The general practice of leaving the beginner altogether on his own resources, to "sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," may be a heroic method of developing initiative, but it is also greatly responsible for much inefficiency. Every wrong practice and every problem which arises should become the center of increased knowledge and skill which expert and sympathetic supervision may stimulate and direct.

Apprenticeship is a valuable source of training when the beginner is working as an assistant to one who is a recognized master of his calling. The young minister who acts as assistant pastor of a large city or country church and who is thus given the opportunity to become acquainted with all the detailed activities of the church and the best methods which are used, and to assume gradually more and more responsibility as he develops, is receiving invaluable assistance. A danger is found in the tendency merely to ape his leader and to become dependent upon another's guidance.

Reading circles provide a means of stimulating study which might not otherwise be carried on, and thus keeping one acquainted with the latest developments of thought and practice.

There are many in the various professional fields who make no pretense at keeping up to date, and who, as a consequence, rapidly deteriorate and lose out in competition with their more progressive fellows. Local and more nation-wide groups and organizations or conventions are a means of education which cannot be ignored. Furthermore, they stimulate and keep alive a common enthusiasm and interest which survives with difficulty in isolation. A common error is made in devoting such meetings exclusively to a discussion of generalities or topics of the day. Valuable as such considerations may be from a general cultural or professional point of view, at least occasional meetings should be centered about the practical problems of method and technique which all have in common and on which some of the group may make a valuable contribution.

Although training and education are important, they may be powerless to rid an individual of personality traits which tend to interfere with his greatest efficiency and success. They should act, however, as a guide to the best adjustment of the individual to his work. Education sometimes leads to unfortunate consequences. One may come through it with a definite feeling of superiority over his more ignorant brethren and thus be unfitted to serve them. Another may acquire academic habits of thought and language, as well as mannerisms, which make it impossible for him to be understood or appreciated by those with whom he must deal. Yet another encounters new ideas and truths and points of view which he readily assimilates, and henceforth he conceives it to be his duty to force these concepts directly into the minds of those who are not prepared to receive them. As a result, those whom he would lead are repelled and he finds his usefulness limited. Any educational program which does not give a democratic attitude, and which does not lead to simple, skilful, sympathetic service must be regarded as defective.

THE SETTING OF GOALS.—Many err in working indefinitely, even though with much enthusiasm, without setting specific attainable goals. Much activity may be of a random type along routinized lines or paths of least resistance and without an adequate consideration of whether something is being definitely accomplished. At every stage specific purposes should be in the mind of the leader and all of those who are connected with the organization, and activities should be directed to these ends. Some of these purposes may be remote or "ultimate," while others which must be achieved in order to gain these ends may be considered immediate or "proximate." Not only should there be concentration or focusing of activities upon objectives; there should also be a careful check to see that each of them is attained. He that travels nowhere in particular may go in circles.

THE TENURE OF WORKERS.—He who has once been engaged for a position has a right to special consideration in case his work proves unsatisfactory. He should not be summarily dismissed without a careful investigation of all of the involved facts, and without some attempt at adjustment. Such adjustment may involve the giving of special help, guidance, or training. It may require assigning him to a different type of work for which he is better fitted.

Marked and continued disloyalty and disharmony of a worker with the purposes and spirit of an institution is commonly regarded as a sufficient cause for dismissal. He who merely doubts certain proposed lines of action, or who brings into question the plans of his superiors in the organization, may be a stimulating force under certain conditions and therefore not a real source of offense. Furthermore, it is possible that the administrator himself is the one who is really in the wrong, while the worker is most loyal to the institution. The worker may be stimulated to personal animosity by conditions which may be easily remedied. Every institution, religious or secular, has the right to lay down certain tenets or declarations to which every worker accedes when he enters into voluntary contract with the institution. Any open violation of such tenets automatically breaks the contract, and the organization is acting within its rights in terminating any employee's service when proof of violation has been established. He who cannot be fully loyal to the institution which he is supposed to serve should resign and seek other employment in which he will find a more congenial environment. In every such situation the institution faces a dilemma. If it retains the disloyal worker, there may be a growing spirit of disunion which may work toward the eventual breakdown of established tenets. If it discharges him, or accepts his resignation, it may be eliminating its most vital and progressive element, and runs the risk of violating the true spirit of truth and justice.

Retirement for reason of old age is often unwisely handled. Individual differences in the age of senescence are not recognized by many plans of retirement which set the age-limit at the age of sixty-five or seventy. Some are physiologically and mentally older at sixty or less than others who are over eighty. The difficulty of discovering and applying adequate tests of competence as a basis of retirement is evident. It is well known that the one who is retired or who retires from work after a life of intense activity may experience rapid mental and physical deterioration. It is generally wiser gradually to lessen the burden of work and responsibility of those who are advancing in old age rather than suddenly to place them in the discard. The man who has kept young in spirit may give his greatest service in his old age, and should then receive his greatest honors.

Salary of Workers.—There is a traditional concept, not easily removed, that religious or social workers should follow the example of the great religious pioneers and prophets, pursuing their work in personal privation and proclaiming their freedom from carnal desires by accepting gladly the lowest living wage. Disdain for luxuries and even for ordinary comforts is held to be the true index of one who is bent on a life of service. He who engages in these fields of labor should indeed be a true creative artist, performing his work for the sake of the outcomes of such service rather than for monetary rewards. Service which is undertaken solely through an interest in the wage thereby gained loses much of its spontaneity and sincerity, and consequently some of its effectiveness. A large income may bring temptations in the way of self-indulgence and ease which interfere with best and most complete service.

On the other hand, a low income is no assurance of right attitudes. One who works for an organization which pays him $600 a year wage may have his heart in his work to as small an extent as one who receives $10,000. In fact, judged by the type of service rendered, the former may be highly overpaid while the latter is greatly underpaid. As a rule the low salary attracts those who are inadequate and inefficient workers, while those who are worth more find their field of labor in some other competing organization which is more appreciative. Furthermore, the low salary itself offers serious handicaps to effective service, however sincere and earnest the worker may be. Constant worry over financial affairs and the realization that the future of oneself and family is not being safeguarded by savings cannot but interfere greatly with one's efficiency. There is a sense of degradation in being considered an object of charity, and this in itself unfits the worker for his dignified task of community leader, and stimulates a spirit of rebellion in all who are conscious of social values.

The work of the church should be so planned and organized that each minister or other paid worker shall receive a minimum standard wage, consistent with his needs for living and saving. This would mean a more careful selection of workers from the standpoint of preparation and ability to do effective service, and a more intensive effort in certain fields, rather than the dissipation of energy and funds over wide areas. It might well call for some form of equalization of salaries so that he who serves well the needs of a rural community may not be altogether dependent upon the financial resources of that community, and live in penury, while his brother in the wealthy city community is satiated with more than plenty. It would surely call for insurance or annuities (it is preferable not to call these pensions) which will remove the fear of an impoverished old age.

Supervision.—The need for some adequate supervision is evident. Only in this way can real unity of purpose and concentration of effort be achieved. Supervision should be considered primarily a teaching function. He who acts in this capacity should be a master-workman, properly qualified in every way by training and experience to express judgments and to give helpful advice. Many supervisors come to this position with only the vaguest ideas of the duties appertaining to it because they have never received any specific training to this end.

The supervisor should be one who is able to establish rapport with the workers whom he supervises. He must be democratic rather than aristocratic. He must be able to secure enthusiastic and loyal coöperation rather than a blind submission. He must have a ready gift of sympathy and strength for those who are in trouble or who are discouraged. Inspiration, positive criticism, helpful and kindly guidance, and informal friendliness are some of the most desirable characteristics. Contacts should be established, not only in personal visits, but through frequent correspondence.

Unification of Agencies.—Any adequate economic survey would reveal the tremendous waste resulting from overlapping of effort and function by competing agencies. Three small ineffective churches, each under poor ministerial leadership, and each straining to meet its financial demands fairly, serve a small agricultural community in a very poor way. If their resources could be pooled and their interests merged, an adequate place of worship and community center could be established, and a well-trained and effective leadership secured. Competition tends to promote intolerance and hatred and to direct the community mind from the essentials of community service to superficials of institutional promotion. Unfair rivalries and proselyting activities frequently are evident. The unchurched people of the community come to esteem such rivalry for what it really is and to hold all of the churches in disrespect. From another point of view, competition may be a stimulating factor for all concerned, but it should be a coöperative competition in which the object of each group is to give its utmost of real service to all who live within the range of its influence. Unless such service is performed the institution becomes a parasite upon the social body and deserves no longer any recognition or support.

Only as the churches and other organizations of social service unite and coöperate in a common effort and merge their interests for the sake of greatest effectiveness in accomplishing their common task, can the conviction be widely established that they regard themselves as a mere means to an end rather than the end itself. All institutions which are undertaking to serve mankind should make a united study of the needs of man, and also of the behavior of man under various conditions, as individuals and also in groups. They should be so busily engaged in fighting the common enemies of mankind that they will not have time to spend in petty bickerings, or energy to waste in jealous competition.

Such union as is here emphasized must be conceived of as a federation rather than an absolute identity, with full coöperation between the various agencies, rather than the placement of all functions under one control. Some which find their differences but minor in character may effect a close union, while others must of necessity retain their peculiar identity. He who hopes for an absolute unification in the near future does not consider all of the difficulties in the way in the form of vested interests, traditional usages, and similar considerations.

FORMALIZATION.—Institutions and institutional leaders should be aware of the great danger of devitalization through formalized organization and practice. An institution of society is a valuable bearer of social tradition and hence a stabilized unit in the life of a people. It discourages frequent or sudden changes in the social order. Unless wisely directed, it may become so static and resistant to change as to be a hindrance to normal development of society, or even an actual drag upon progress.

Major revolutions within an institution occur when it no longer keeps step with social growth, when it speaks only a dead language, and when it places undue restraint upon the free activity of its members. Unless an institution adapts itself constantly to the changing order of civilization, it is doomed to die out or at least become ineffective through inanition and neglect. The church, the school, the social center, or any other functional organism of society must continually study man as he actually behaves, analyze his immediate needs, and adjust itself so that it can most effectively meet these needs.

Formalism is characterized by a lack of a real, sincere, and direct interest in human values. Attention shifts to the organization itself as a prime factor of consideration, rather than a means of attaining the functional end. The many details of procedure may become so engrossing that the real needs for which the procedures are designed are lost sight of. Churches may thus quarrel over the verity of theological dogmas while poverty, ignorance, unhappiness, immorality, and crime stalk the earth. Formalism is a loss of perspective, even a blindness which interferes with free action. It would appear better for a social organization, as well as an individual, to be enthusiastic in its pursuit of its real goal, even though sometimes wrong, than to be lacking in vitality.

Promotion and Publicity.—In a competitive society, any movement which would succeed must make its presence known in no uncertain terms. It must grasp the attention of the people, and win the support and allegiance of a certain proportion. This means that there must be some form of advertising or publicity. It is certain that the best form of publicity available is that indicated by the slogan, "We are advertised by our loving friends." Let a church, a charitable society, or any other social organization become known, even among a few, for the values which it renders, especially certain distinctive values, and the wireless telephone of conversation will carry the news everywhere. It will be as certain here, as with the maker of the "best mouse-trap," that "the world will make a beaten path" to its doors. If a church struggles along in its community without being able to command a substantial following, it is fairly certain that it is not meeting the real needs of a fair proportion of the people of that community. No known form of publicity can succeed in building a permanent following unless it be supplemented by a program of vital service. This service must be appropriately differentiated for all ages and classes of society.

Many churches undertake a form of publicity or service to society which consists of series of sermons on live topics of the day. This is a movement which is psychologically sound in the sense that people are more ready to hear current issues discussed than mere incidents in ancient history. They are usually more greatly interested in concrete presentations than in those which are very abstract. Such activity must be very skilfully done, however, and certain cautions should be noted. The topics should not be used merely as bait with a view to securing a large attendance, the sermon itself being exactly the same type of presentation which would not alone attract attention or interest. The topic must be treated fairly and open-mindedly, with no evidence of dogmatism, narrow-mindedness, or partiality. Debates are one of the best means of evidencing such a spirit of search for truth, and of presenting all of the various aspects of a problem. The public forum is also a valuable means of avoiding the accusation of prejudice. It is a wonder that these devices are not used to a greater extent than they are, as they are almost certain to attract an interested audience.

The discussion of current topics almost always leads to the arousal of strong emotional responses on the part of those who favor or oppose certain aspects involved. Enmities may be stimulated, and the project may prove to be anything but a unifying factor. Let the pastor of a church deal with the problem of low moral standards and practices of a ruling political group in the community, and he may "stir up a hornets' nest" which will drive as many from the church as it attracts. It requires a strong leadership to carry such a program through successfully.

A church may become so concentrated upon current topics of general social significance as to neglect the great basic needs and hungers of individuals. The solution of local problems and the alignment of forces in all social issues are predetermined greatly by general ideals as well as by specific guidance. A certain major proportion of attention must be given to inspiration and to the development of good will among men as the best assurance of right action in any crisis of human affairs.

The need for direct advertising has already been stressed (p. 464). In church work there is no place for lurid, flamboyant publicity; neither should there be any general neglect of straightforward, clean-cut, artistic, and appealing advertisement through any available agencies. Most churches evidence a conservative attitude toward advertising, probably because of a feeling that it tends to cheapen and debase their work. This need not be the case. In the meantime much of such advertising as is used is so much waste of effort and money, because it arouses neither curiosity nor any other type of interest. If man is to be served by any social agency he must first be reached, and methods of publicity must be adapted in such a way as to appeal to him. These must be in terms of the way in which he actually feels, thinks, and behaves.

THE PUBLIC MEETING AND THE RELIGIOUS SERVICE.—It is very difficult to generalize regarding public meetings. The problems are so specific and local as to call for very definite treatment. Many suggestions are given elsewhere in this text which apply. The group meeting is a valuable factor in producing a unification of feeling and thinking. As the mass treatment has developed, there has been less and less emphasis upon the individual with certain unfortunate results. The meaning and value of any social gathering is usually greatly increased for any individual when he takes a creative part in it. Congregational singing and responses emphasize this aspect to some degree, but otherwise the individual may be quite passive unless stirred and challenged to an attitude of active coöperation. Group discussions naturally arouse such attitudes, as do testimony and prayer meetings, but as a rule the sermon gives but little opportunity for active participation. The speech can do so, however, through being less dictatorial and dogmatically assertive than is often the case.

Church services and other meetings may become so highly formalized as to be ineffective. Week after week the same program is followed out in detail under the impression that order and organization are thereby evidenced. The unfortunate aspect is found in the fact that the order used becomes a routine procedure, holding little if any real interest and meaning for the members of the group. The highly formalized service is deceivingly pleasing; in fact may be very soporific. Unique features and pleasant surprises may be worked in, in such a way as to liven up the entire service, without at all destroying the basic sense of order and stability.

The need for beauty, dignity and solemnity cannot be too strongly emphasized. These are basic and deep-rooted hungers of human life which are perennially appealing, and which must be closely allied with religious attitudes. The jazz-church with its bright colors, lively music, and startling programs may win a temporary following. The difficulty is found in holding this following and in imparting to them any real religious concepts in such an atmosphere and by such superficial appeals. All parts of the service as well as the entire setting should be in harmony with the end in view. The effect of a very appealing sermon may be entirely dissipated by placing a number of items on the order of service immediately following or, especially, by the singing of a hymn which is incongruous.

Social Life.—Of course, a leading characteristic of a social institution designed for service to mankind, must be a genuine sociability. Interest must be real, not affected, and should extend to strangers and casual visitors as well as to other members of the group. Old and young, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, must be made to feel at home. Visits of real friendliness must be paid. The business man who is approached only when donations are sought has the right to infer that he is esteemed only for what he may give. Social occasions must be as carefully planned and be even more frequent than the distinctly religious service of the church. The church should be working seven days of the week as a community center in which helpful social contacts are made. The charitable organization which discharges its duties to recipients of its benefactions in merely a perfunctory and business-like fashion is neglecting its best opportunities to meet their social needs.

Those who administer religious and social work encounter many problems of many varied types. Only a few of these have been briefly noted here. The administrator requires a very broad training and rich experience if he is to deal intelligently with the many issues that arise and to view all of the phases of his work in relation to the whole and to the general background of life forces.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Many who are preparing for the ministry idealize their life work, only to meet with disillusionment when they undertake it. Should they be forewarned? How else could the problem be handled?
2. The accusation is frequently made that the churches have become too commercial. Is this avoidable? Is it necessarily an evil?
3. Should administrative positions be filled through promotion on the basis of years of service rendered? Justify your answer.
4. Indicate the importance of the ability of an administrator to delegate responsibility to others. Show how a minister may do this to advantage.
5. What are the administrative functions of a minister? What special training does he need to fulfil these?
6. Should the machinery of a church organization be at all evident to mixed congregations? How may it be best cared for?
7. Would even the best conceivable form of despotism provide adequately for the development of individual responsibility?

8. Does the scarcity of available workers in religious and social work have anything to do with low standards of workmanship? To what is such a scarcity due?
9. Discuss the need for putting new truths in old language.
10. What is your concept of a religious statesman? A social philosopher?

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CHAPTER XXXI

PUBLIC SPEAKING

There is no power like that of the true orator.

HENRY CLAY

He is the eloquent man who can treat subjects of an humble nature with delicacy, lofty things impressively, and moderate things temperately.

CICERO

IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SPEECH.—The need for developing the ability to make a good presentation in public speaking is apparent. Almost anyone may be called upon to take the platform occasionally. One who holds a position involving responsibilities of leadership in social and religious work finds many opportunities and calls for addressing groups. The law of economy applies here as elsewhere. It is possible for a speaker to waste a great deal of his own time as well as that of others, and fail to accomplish his purpose because he has been unskilful in this task. Psychology, properly applied, is an effective aid.

Public speaking always presents a social situation. One individual who is a potential leader is attempting to enlist and hold the attention of a body of his fellows until his object has been achieved. The factors involved in successful performance are primarily psychological. The behavior of the speaker and his audience is in process of adaptation and more or less permanent modification. Basic principles and laws of psychology operate in establishing and maintaining control.

LEARNING HOW TO MAKE A PUBLIC SPEECH.—Good speakers must possess certain general and special abilities, native and acquired. Even though such a capacity or ability be inborn, it must be developed through experiences in practical situations. Successful speech is an art or skill, and thus is subject to the laws of habit-formation. One learns to speak by speaking, not merely by reading the rules governing the situation. A knowledge of such rules is, however, a great assistance in development. Practice in itself gives no assurance of improvement, in fact it may result in the fixation of wrong habits to such a degree as to prevent ready improvement. If one is able to analyze his own behavior in the light of psychological principles, and thus discover his faults and good points, more rapid progress is assured. Many cases may be called to mind of "natural speakers" who, although having never received any formal training are yet masters of the platform. These possess a remarkably sensitive understanding of the human mind, and a type of personality which renders them peculiarly effective. Even with them, it is likely that a thorough analysis of the principles and processes involved would make them even more effective, and would give them an earlier control of the powers they possess. There are others of whom it might be prophesied that unlimited training and practice will never produce results, because of personality traits, but such cases are rare indeed.

On every occasion in which a speaker is to address an audience it is essential that he first of all understands and appreciates the mind of the listener. An audience is made up of individuals with varying interests, abilities, attitudes, and types of reaction. The members of the group cannot however be regarded as individuals. The group must be approached and dealt with as a whole, as a sort of larger and more complex person. The more thoroughly the group or mass mind is developed, and the members cemented in a common interest the more successful will be the presentation.

Some attempt must be made to analyze the immediate occasion, and to estimate the character of the audience in relation to it. Is this audience composed of young, or old people, or those of mixed ages? Are the members of the group highly educated or poorly educated when considered as a whole? What social class and which sex is chiefly represented? What purpose and attitude dominates the group; what mental set is predominant on this occasion? Are these auditors of the type that will passively accept whatever is presented, or can they be led to participate actively in the presentation and take an enthusiastic interest in it? May the group be characterized as negative, contrary, or even antagonistic; or may it be more fittingly considered as friendly and anticipatory? This is a significant difference, for on the one hand there is the necessity of winning the hearers to a sympathetic attitude, and on the other hand a responsibility for not disappointing them.

An adequate answer to these and many similar questions will influence the speaker throughout as to his subject matter and method of presentation. It may not be possible to discover this information before the address is given, but the speaker should discover the facts soon after facing his audience. Some speakers are very skilful in feeling out their audience in their introductory remarks, and then in adapting themselves accordingly. Others, with unique or dominating personalities, find it unnecessary to adapt themselves to any marked degree, but it is probable that they would gain in doing so, and in any case, their policy cannot be adopted by all. The more diversified the members of the group, the greater the emphasis that should be placed on the great common elements that are significant to all.

As far as possible the entire setting should be in terms of the character of the audience and the ends in view. The first essential is the control of those factors which will insure the attention of the hearers. Many of these factors are involved in the nature of the surroundings, independently of the content of the speech or the manner of the speaker. A famed and successful evangelist was to carry on a campaign in a certain city. He selected a magnificent auditorium, seating about six thousand people, which had recently been erected, as the place in which to hold the meetings. After careful preparations, and a continued thoroughgoing effort, he was dismayed by the unusually poor response which he secured. The community had been ready for his service and had backed the undertaking with marked unity. Large crowds had attended the meetings. The evangelist was led to the conclusion that in some way he had failed, and had lost his power, yet those who heard him stated that he preached with as much fervor as ever.

The secret of the failure was to be found in the fact that certain psychological principles had been violated in arranging the setting. The fine new building was a highly distractive factor. It was a matter of wonder and constant curiosity to those who attended the meetings, and even after several weeks they had not developed any feeling of "at-homeness" in it. The speaker stood at the midpoint of the front of an immense platform sixty feet long, with a large choir of several hundred voices behind him. The speaker himself was lost to view in the immensity and complexity of the surroundings. Flags were draped along the front of the platform on either side of the speaker, and also above his head, in such a way as to lead the eye of the auditor away from rather than toward him. Concentration of the audience was achieved with difficulty. About one-half of the auditors were seated in balconies, with a wide gulf fixed between them and the speaker, so that it was most difficult to establish any effective bond with them. In addition all seats were individual opera chairs, with arms between them, so that the individual never lost a distinct sense of isolation from his neighbor. It was practically impossible for the leader to develop the crowd mind that was essential for his success, or to secure the type of attention that was necessary, under such conditions. Such details as these cannot be overlooked in so far as they affect the behavior of the listener.

Preparation and the Securing of Interest.—The public address is one of the highest forms of expression. It presupposes that the speaker has something vital to say. There must be an adequate preparation. No good address can be given without it. One notes an apparent contradiction in the case of extemporaneous speakers. As a matter of fact, although the particular form which the address takes may be spontaneous, the successful extemporaneous speech is the result of a long period of preparation, whether deliberate or not, matured through experience.

A distinction must be made between general preparation and attention to the definite organization of details. Some speakers emphasize the former, especially relative to content, trusting to the stimulation and inspiration of the moment for the care of the form. While some few develop an expertness in such freedom it is by no means recommended for all. A defect in such minor details as the order of points, the unity of a section of the address or the aptness of an illustration may make the entire effort ineffective. Other speakers place the chief emphasis on form, and will never speak until they have whipped the entire presentation into satisfactory shape. Over-emphasis on techniques may result in a formal, devitalized performance unless the speaker takes care to guard his natural style and personality traits.

In preparation, many points must be considered by a speaker relative to his relations with the prospective auditors. The primary need is to grasp his hearer's interest and attention at the very beginning.

Some years ago it was customary for a speaker to give a more or less exhaustive introduction. This is not desirable. He should begin on his theme directly. Illustrations or stories, humorous or otherwise, may be used if advisable with the particular group, but these should bear directly on the topic. Under no circumstances is it wise to begin an address with an apology for poor preparation or indisposition. This not only distracts the hearer from a favorable mental set, but may even arouse definite prejudices which the speaker finds it difficult to overcome. One of the best ways of attracting attention is to appeal to novelty, curiosity, or the natural interests of the hearers in matters with which they are already acquainted.

The securing of attention is not enough. The speaker must remember that he is to keep the attention of his audience throughout his address. There is a danger that the beginning may be an anti-climax, placed at such a key that all succeeding matters presented fall flat. Some prefer to master the interests of their hearers gradually, leading them step by step to a most intense interest at the point of natural climax. The body of an address gives a speaker his real test. If he is not able to keep the sustained interest of his audience, he must make strenuous efforts at times to regain this interest, and he runs the risk of losing it altogether.

For best results there should usually be periodic shifts or changes in thought, as well as in style and voice, as a means of avoiding monotony. The address should be punctuated with pointed statements and telling illustrations. The hearer will not dare to withdraw his attention for fear of missing some significant point. Too frequent a change is to be avoided as it is distractive from the main trend of thought, and in the end defeats its own purpose. The listener then needs stronger novelty appeals as the address goes on. Appeals to novelty which serve as substitutes for real direct interest in the thought itself are not best practice.

In general, a safe rule to follow is to adapt the style of presentation to a stage of simplicity that is well within the grasp of the auditor. Technical presentations before a group of specialized scholars are permissible and in fact desirable, but ordinarily only the simplest of language should be used. The greatest classic expressions of human thought, such as Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, are notably in simple language, appreciated equally by the learned and the ignorant. If one thinks back over the greatest sermons he has heard, those which made an indelible impression on his memory, he will invariably find that they were very simply and directly delivered. This rule does not mean that one should "talk down" to his audience, giving the impression, "I know how to say this in a much more profound way, and I am finding it necessary to make a special effort to put it in terms so that you will understand." The simplicity desired should be an integral part of the speaker's personality, rather than a temporary adjustment which calls for apology. It is equally a mistake to make a statement in comparatively complex form and then follow with a simple statement introduced by the phrase "in other words."

If interest is to be held and made effective something should always be left to the hearer's imagination. Care must be given to present enough details to form clear images, and basic concepts, but if this is carried too far the auditor becomes passive in the situation. The speaker often makes the mistake of constructing pictures for the hearer, doing his thinking for him, and arriving at conclusions which are no real part of the auditor's logical processes. The listener finds there is no need for any mental activity on his own part. In many cases a question, clearly defined and asked, is more effective in arousing and keeping interest than any number of dogmatic statements. Speakers sometimes make extreme statements which are designed to act as a challenge to thought. While this may be effective, the exaggeration or distortion of facts is never justified and often places the speaker in an equivocal and misunderstood position.

For best effect on attention and permanence of memory, a discourse should be logical, so that there is a cord of associations binding all parts together into a meaningful whole. The crazy-quilt pattern does not stick in the memory because it has no systematic plan of organization. The chief points made and their sub-topics should be very clearly emphasized so that they are very securely imprinted on the mind of the hearer. The speaker should not wander on casually from one point to another but should stress clearly each new topic or pointed statement. This does not mean that he should state "firstly," "secondly," and so on, but merely that the listener should be made aware of the shift of thought as well as the relation of topics and their relative importance.

Some speakers make a special effort to avoid duplication. Repetition of thought or words may indeed be carried to an extreme, but ordinarily it is advantageous and even necessary to repeat the thought over and over in new ways. In certain cases key-words and phrases must be repeated several times if an impression is to be made of the central thought of the address. The average listener has comparatively small power of concentration. He is not able to abstract the central idea from the mass of language without special assistance of the speaker.

The well-organized and directed address of any length aids the listener further by providing a summary at the close. It need not be indicated as a summary, in fact this is usually poor practice. Its purpose is to boil down the thought of the address in an effective way. All the roads within the discourse should lead to this summary. If the central thought is properly emphasized at this point the auditor will later remember, not only this summary, but those parts of the main body of the address which are directly associated with it and with each other.

Delivery.—One of the most important characteristics of successful public speech is spontaneous ease, naturalness and lack of self-consciousness—in general, freedom from inhibitions. This is largely a matter of practice. The beginner is notably hampered by restraints of many kinds; fears, heightened or repressed circulation, conflicting motor adjustments, and confusion of thought. He may tremble, find his voice faltering, be afflicted with a dry mouth, and evidence a great deal of awkwardness in gesture or position. Much practice is usually needed before the delivery becomes so habituated that the bodily processes operate normally and the control of thought expression goes on with absolute forgetfulness of self. Only when the procedure becomes thus automatic can the attention of the speaker or listener be given fully and freely to the thought with which the speech is concerned. Even when a speaker is listening to the sound of his own voice the effectivness of his address is greatly lessened.

A great aid to self-forgetfulness is simply having something to say which the speaker considers of such vital significance that he and his audience lose sight of himself in the presentation. Such occasions do not always occur however, hence cannot be depended upon as a substitute for real learning through practice. In any case crudities which have not been removed from ordinary practice are not thereby eliminated nor greatly lessened.

The majority of speakers feel very strongly that an address should be delivered spontaneously, or from outline, rather than read. In general this is probably true because the reading produces distractions and tends toward devitalized formalism. No absolute rule can be given however, for some speakers have developed the art of reading an address to a very high degree of perfection, whereas their spontaneous style would be halting and unsatisfactory.

Nothing is more conducive to loss of interest than inability to hear the speaker. For this reason clear enunciation must be assured, together with enough volume to carry to the farthest parts of the room. The acoustic properties of the particular room used should be known beforehand by the speaker and proper allowances made for deficiencies. Wrong pronunciation and errors of grammatical usage are unfortunate if not inexcusable. A speaker may lose his hold of an audience because of some slight error of this nature. The quality of voice has much to do with a speaker's effectiveness. A high-pitched or rasping voice, for example, may prove very irritating to an audience and in itself may become such a source of distraction that the members of the audience cannot keep their attention on the thought, however worth while and interesting it may be. Few of those with poor quality of voice appear to recognize their handicap or to realize that it could be greatly improved through training.

Some speakers fall into the habit of rhythmic modulation and accent. Others deliberately adopt this form of address because of the pleasing and mellifluous flow of language thereby produced. For a short address this may be very satisfactory, but longer addresses in this style tend to have a monotonous and somnolent effect. Vividness and vital interest are probably best attained by sudden breaks in rhythm, such as the use at intervals of short, staccato, abrupt statements.

Little can be said about the manner and style of speakers since these are so largely dependent upon the personality of the speaker and the particular occasion. Styles change, and even speakers may find themselves "out of date." The bombastic oratorical style which characterized the political campaigner and the Fourth of July orator of the nineteenth century is no longer highly regarded. In general the style of preaching is greatly changed from that of twenty-five or fifty years ago. A safe principle that can be generally applied refers to the value of dignity. This holds, whether one is giving a humorous after-dinner speech or a funeral oration. One of the most successful narrators of funny stories known speaks with the greatest seriousness and even soberness. Never does he appear amused by the stories which he tells. By all means sincerity and earnestness of manner are of the greatest importance. These qualities in a speaker will often hide a multitude of imperfections. The speaker is a salesman who must himself be convinced of the value and verity of his wares if he is to convince others of their worth.

It is difficult to hold an audience if the entire address is delivered too rapidly, or too slowly. In the former case enunciation is endangered, and time enough may not be allowed for the hearers to absorb the ideas presented. In the latter case there is likely to be a suggestion of sluggishness and lack of vitality which will cause a loss of interest. A variation of rates is generally advisable. Words should not all be carefully and equally measured in time, but should be grouped in rapid, average or slow patterns according to need. Especially is it important that the tempo should fit the thought at every point. Where speed, cheer, busy activity and hope are indicated the natural tempo will be much faster than in those instances where inaction, gloom, tenderness and similar states are being protrayed.

The effect of an address is always heightened if an audience is kept active throughout, and especially if opportunity is provided for some personal reaction at the close. This is sometimes provided through discussions or decisions definitely made in the light of points brought out in the presentation. The testimony meeting and prayer meeting, which have suffered from neglect or alteration in recent years, have their chief strength and value in this aspect. Large numbers and mass treatment do not allow for an adequate individual expression, and much ingenuity must often be applied to secure an effective reaction from an audience. Forums are of great significance as a factor in social life because of the heightening of natural interest by the give and take of ideas. If these can be so conducted that all take part, and some do not usurp the majority of the time the values are much greater than could otherwise be possible.

The play of emotions on the part of the speaker and the control of the emotions of an audience are matters of utmost significance. There is no form of address which is not subject to improvement in effectiveness through the introduction of a proper emotional tone in the right degree. Even the cool, logical, instructional lecture is enhanced greatly in value when delivered with enthusiasm, "thought kindling itself at the fire of living thought." It is commonly believed that a speaker must himself feel the emotions he desires to arouse in others. This is probably true of those with little experience. It is possible however for one who is a true artist, without hypocrisy, to simulate the emotions so effectively that he can arouse them in others without himself being subject to the wearing fatigue which is consequent on such emotional strain. Gates notes[1] the story of Salvini, the famous tragedian. He lay "dying" on the stage in the final scene of a great tragedy, and the audience was deeply moved by the reality of his acting. But during the scene he murmured to his stage partner that he was dying again "For the one hundred and third and last time this season!" There is something essentially dramatic about public speaking, and the greatest of speakers have been great actors, whatever media they may have used in transferring images, emotional states and ideas to their audiences, and whatever has been the particular style which they have used.

The task of keeping the emotions under restraint is as important as that of giving free vent to them, and often it is more effective. There is something particularly appealing and moving in the aspect of a speaker who feels deeply, yet controls the expression of his emotions. He has a reserve of power which is compelling. The ranter seldom makes much headway with his audience, at least as far as establishing any permanent control is concerned. When emotional expression is given on the level of sentimentality, the weakness is evident enough to the average audience, and the address is taken at its true worth, with consequent fleeting effect. The hearers will sense the real sympathy of the speaker, even though it be not expressed, and respond accordingly. One who at any time in his address violates the ideals of his auditors deservedly loses his control over them. Some are tempted to do this as a means of shocking them into attention, but the loss is usually greater than the gain, and it is difficult if not impossible again to secure the proper degree of interest and sympathetic attention.

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[1] A. I. Gates, *Psychology for Students of Education* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923) p. 173.

A speaker should avoid any anti-climax in emotional expression as well as in thought. At no place in the address should he reach a point so high that he cannot again attain it during the remainder of the speech. After the climax is reached the presentation flattens out, and loss of interest is inevitable. The sooner the speaker then closes his address the better will be the general effect. Most of the "finally's" appended to speeches would be better left unsaid. Any speech may be considered "long" regardless of the actual time consumed, after it has reached and passed the natural climax. The art of holding an audience in suspense is one that every speaker should master.

No rules can be given regarding the length of an address. This depends upon the subject, the occasion, and the personality of the speaker. The tendency in recent years toward shorter speeches, whether the political speech or the sermon, is doubtless a wholesome one. This movement should however, be accompanied with a recognition of the need for more effectiveness in public speaking. With only a very brief time at his command, the speaker must work with utmost intensity and skill if he is to produce any permanent effect upon his hearers.

Types of Public Speech.—Many different types of address are given, on various bases of classification. Here only a few will be noted briefly as distinguished according to aim. Needless to say, the organization and delivery of an address vary greatly according to the major end in view. These types are not mutually exclusive, but may be mingled freely in one address.

Argument is a form of address designed to convince the hearers of the truth of a proposition. It should be frankly logical and scientific in tone and free from the common fallacies, such as: false premise, arguing from the single case, use of false analogy, hasty generalizations, use of ambiguous terms and inferring wrong causes. The chief task is that of getting the auditor into the proper mental set. This must be followed by guiding his thought processes carefully step by step to a rational conclusion. Special care must be taken with regard to the following considerations. There are at least two points of view on every question, and the opposite points of view must be recognized and their values appreciated. Much is thereby gained in the way of a reputation for fairness which no amount of dogmatism could hope to equal. Extreme statements or attitudes which tend to arouse opposition and stimulate emotionalized antagonisms should be avoided. Only such statements should be made as are supported by satisfactory evidence or as can be so supported on demand. Seldom should there be any ridicule of an opponent or opposing point of view, for few can do so successfully, and this practice is generally recognized as in poor taste. The emphasis should be positive rather than negative, aggressively building up a point of view rather than defending it or tearing an opposing view to pieces. The emotions, though necessarily active in the reasoning situation, should be kept well under control, and there should be no evidence of impulsiveness or intolerance. It is unfortuante that there are so many futile arguments concerning inconsequential matters, as well as problems which are insoluble, possibly because metaphysical. Such activity is worth while, however, if those who are engaged in it thereby learn to argue skilfully and effectively, for through argument rather than on the battlefields are the major steps in progress won.

The appeal, though it may be logical and argumentative, is concerned, not so much with the modification of thought, as with change of conduct. It is designed to lead to a decision governing action. The speaker is much more free in the employment of emotions toward the desired end, and for this reason the rules already given regarding the place of emotions especially apply. There must be a gradual cumulative development leading to a natural point of decision. Appeals must be in terms of individual needs, cravings, interests and instinctive tendencies. It is remarkable to note the influence of imitation in securing a response of an audience. There is a danger that an individual will be moved by the mass mind rather than by his individual judgment, or be swept off his feet by an emotional outburst only later to regret and even resent his action. A decision gradually arrived at in isolation from the crowd is generally much more effective and lasting, although in some cases the reaction of the crowd has a stimulating and supporting effect. The appeal is largely used by religious and social leaders, especially evangelists and mission workers. More care should be given than is usually the case to a follow-up of individual cases with a view to a firm establishment of the decision in conduct.

Narration and description types of address attempt to paint word pictures of scenes, personalities, or events. There is a common failure to recognize that there are more ways of combining and applying verbal forms in such an undertaking than there are in the use of pigments on a canvas, and that equally supreme artistry is demanded. Something of the same procedure must be applied in the preparation of the background, the definition of details, the use of the laws of unity and contrast, the clear presentation of the center of interest and similar matters. Novelty may be found in the very familiar, and ordinary life situations may be presented with remarkable dramatic effect by one who knows how. The law of the climax applies here as elsewhere.

The conversational and discussional types are ordinarily much less formal than other types, and have for their purpose primarily some form of instruction. Contrary to ordinary belief these types are very difficult to master. They imply a very direct contact with the hearer and the requisite simplicity is seldom well attained. The guidance of thought, especially in the give and take of discussion, requires great skill. Comparatively small groups are desirable in this form of address. There are many varieties of these types. Among them may be mentioned the didactic or teaching method, the expository or explanatory method, the exegetic method which is a detailed exposition of a passage of literature such as the Bible, and the dialectic or Socratic method which makes use of question and answer so as to lead the hearer to accept the point of view of the speaker.

THE NEED FOR CRITICISM.—The speaker finds it difficult if not impossible to criticize and correct himself. As a rule he needs some objective critic who is able to point out lines of possible improvement. Every audience is a critic and every audience-reaction a criticism. But even though a speaker is sensitive enough to appreciate such a criticism, whether it be positive or negative, it is at best indefinite and fails to diagnose the real points of weakness. One may have the conviction that he has just delivered a powerful address when in reality it may have been a practical failure. On the other hand he may have made an unusually successful effort although he has a definite sense of futility.

In closing, it may be well to emphasize that the purpose of all public speech is to convey feelings and thoughts to others, not merely to use words freely and easily. A good speaking vocabulary in some instances deceives the speaker and even his audience into believing that thoughts are being produced. Analysis of long addresses sometimes reveals a paucity of ideas which could well have been presented in a few words, and with greater effectiveness. Above all the speaker must learn "to think on his feet" on every occasion, whether extemporaneously or otherwise. It is the obligation of every public speaker to eliminate the tremendous waste in time and human energy which ordinarily obtains in this potential skill.

Questions and Exercises

1. What method could a minister follow in securing helpful criticism of his sermons and their delivery? One secured the services of a friend who was a member of the congregation; another had as assistant pastor a man who was well trained in public speaking. Are these good plans?
2. Why is it that speakers usually resent any criticism? Does the way in which criticism is given make a difference? Is the control and leadership of a speaker destroyed through criticism on the part of his audience?
3. Summarize and outline the recommendations made in this chapter.
4. Attend one or more public occasions and devote yourself to estimating the speeches critically in the light of these recommendations. Do you find that the critical attitude

interferes with following the thought and with real appreciation?

5. Show how the ridiculing of an evil-doer or evil deed may give it an heroic aspect. Why is it that the strongest advocates of a cause on the rostrum may prove to be its worst enemies?
6. Should public speakers strive to emulate some example and divest themselves of particular personal characteristics?
7. Why should every speaker have practice in speaking before audiences which are antagonistic? What place has aggressiveness in public speaking? Which is harder to handle; the passive or antagonistic audience? Why?
8. Contrast the effect of the following approaches by a speaker, "We commonly fail"; "You commonly fail"; "People commonly fail." Explain the effect.
9. Show how vision may be an aid or a hindrance to a listener. Discuss gesture in this connection.
10. What are the best ways to handle a distraction or a disturbing element in the audience or surroundings?

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